Chronicles
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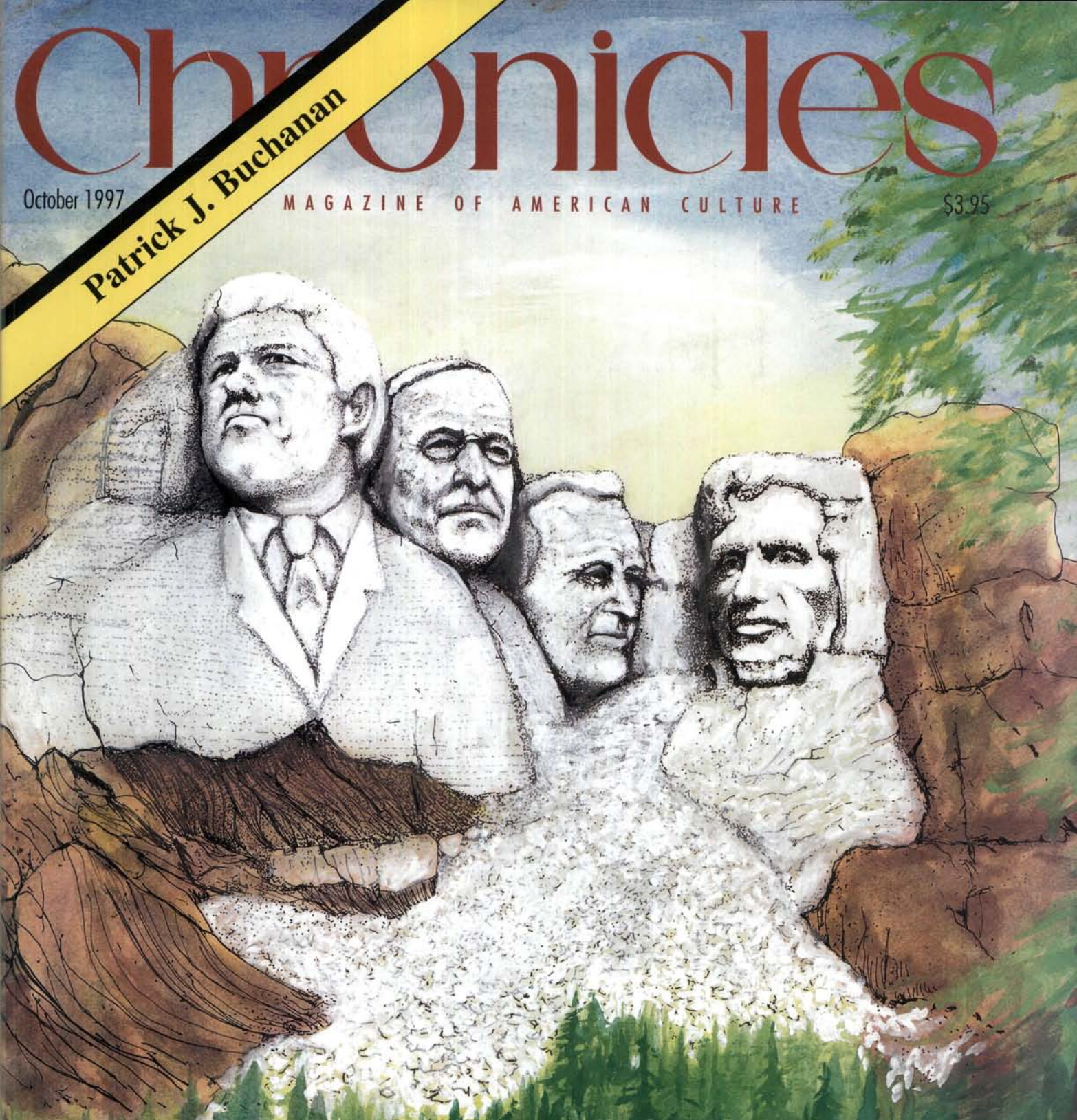
Patrick J. Buchanan



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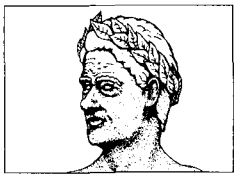
Chronicles

A MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN CULTURE

"It is my duty, to leave nothing undone that I may lawfully do, to pull down this administration. . . . They who, from indifference, or with their eyes open, persist in hugging the traitor to their bosom, deserve to be insulted . . . deserve to be slaves, with no other music to soothe them but the clank of the chains which they have put on themselves and given to their offspring."

— John Randolph, 1826

PERSPECTIVE



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Chronicles
A MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN CULTURE

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On War

Chronicles is my favorite magazine, a fact I register by resubscribing every year and occasionally donating a few bucks to its fund drives, so I feel no guilt that my first comments to its editors are harsh.

"Don't Feed the War Machine" by Bill Kauffman (August) is nothing but babble. Mr. Kauffman is sliding fast from an honorable "America First" attitude down to a ridiculous one that blames America first and always. It would be a waste of time to attack any of the points he makes in his article because those points add up to nothing but the fact that he despises most of the men who have been President of the United States or worn the stars of a general in its army.

For all of Mr. Kauffman's bitterness that the United States fought in World War II, the Japanese did bomb Pearl Harbor, a savage sneak attack they did not have to carry out, no matter what President Roosevelt did. The Japanese could have given up the business of invading other countries and butchering the conquered by following Mr. Kauffman's advice for the good life: mind their own damn business by raising families and participating in the life of a small and vital community.

From his sarcasm toward General Grant and his quoting of Paul Fussell, the reader gets the sense that Mr. Kauffman considers our military men to be the killers of their own troops. What nonsense. You don't have to like war to understand that men must face death when one is fought. Douglas MacArthur, Mark Clark, and George Patton no more used their men for cannon fodder than George Washington or Andrew Jackson did. They fought the war the best way they could. Of course, Truman ordered two atomic explosions in Japanese cities to avoid the deaths of our troops, but Mr. Kauffman is not pleased with that either.

Participating in the life of a small community produces a lot of good people. Now and then, it comes up with a prime fool.

—Larry Eason
Belleville, IL

Mr. Kauffman Replies:

Peace and love, Mr. Eason. It's very brave of you to "face death" on behalf of the hundreds of thousands of American men who were stolen from their families and hometowns and sacrificed at the altar of the un-American Empire—you're a real he-man, in the best tradition of McGeorge Bundy, Tom Clancy, and the authoress of that moronic phrase, "Blame America First." By the way, I find at least something to like in most of our pre-FDR Presidents. I love my country; I love the Old Republic; foreign wars are the enemy of both. Belleville or the Empire, Mr. Eason; you can have one or the other. Betray your town if you wish, but don't lecture me on patriotism, and don't use my flag to shroud the vaporized children of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

On Public Housing

Steven Greenhut is as careless with facts in his August "Letter From Lima: HUD Strikes Again" as he is in his colorful editorials about us in the *Lima News*. Nearly one-fourth of Lima's population lives in poverty, and over 2,000 people have been on our waiting list for more than two years. So how could 28 new affordable housing units in a decaying economy add "insult to injury," regardless of their architectural style? Yet Greenhut boasts, "I'm more concerned, however, about who lives inside the houses." He poses as a hero courageously defending us against "welfare moms" and "arrogant" bureaucrats. Evidently he has not met any of the working families struggling to make ends meet on six-dollar per hour jobs or senior citizens and the disabled living on fixed incomes.

Clearly thinking he is an expert about our town after only a two-year residency in Lima, Greenhut inaccurately states that "scores of ranch houses" have been built. That was over ten years ago, and the number was two score and 16. The balance of public housing consists of existing housing that has been rehabilitated.

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Greenhut also states that the "Section 8 program . . . has turned many stable, well-kept neighborhoods into enclaves of run-down rental housing." This program only uses existing rental units that are kept up to code, and owner's rents are based on the going fair-market rent. Moreover, the public housing that so incenses Greenhut is only one percent of Lima's total housing stock.

Greenhut says that Lima residents "knew from past experience that MET houses brought a wave of crime, drugs, and lower-class culture onto their blocks." As the landlord of those families in public housing, we are able to check credit, references, and criminal backgrounds, as well as visit their homes to determine housekeeping. On the other hand, units under control of private landlords may not be so vigilant in their screening.

Steven Greenhut developed his opinions about our agency when he discovered that a low-income family was moving into his neighborhood. We call this NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard). What do you call it?

—Cynthia K. Ring
Executive Director,
Allen Metropolitan Housing Authority
Lima, OH

Mr. Greenhut Replies:

It has been a tough few months for the Allen Metropolitan Housing Authority, so I won't begrudge Executive Director Cynthia Ring for impugning my motives for criticizing her agency's heavy-handed programs. First the *Lima News* blew the whistle on her stealthy attempts to foist another 28 public housing units on middle-class neighborhoods, then the City Council took AMHA to court for violating Ohio state law in the process. Her attempts to sic the feds on the city have backfired, and residents have publicized many horror stories about the agency and its charges.

Ring says my opposition to AMHA's plan stems from my discovery that a low-income family was moving into my neighborhood. Though untrue, this is a typical agency ploy. If you don't see the wisdom of scattering housing projects around Lima, then you must be afraid of poor people, blacks, the disabled, etc.

None of the new houses are slated for my neighborhood (unless there's some new plan Ring has yet to share with me), though I live much closer to them than Ring does: she lives in a rural hamlet far from her agency's handiwork.

I may only have lived in Lima for two years, but I can see what Ring has a vested interest in ignoring: plopping public housing in solid neighborhoods, then dismissing complaints as examples of selfishness, is a recipe for the kind of turmoil AMHA is facing.

Steven Greenhut
Editorial page editor, Lima News
Lima, OH

On Judaism

I, like many scholars, stand in awe of the accomplishments of Jacob Neusner, but his August "Letter From Inner Israel: Continental Judaisms, R.I.P." seems unusually insensitive and bizarre. Neusner accuses continental European Judaism, in the aftermath of Nazi and Soviet barbarism, of insularity, suspicion, lack of learning, and lack of faith. I should have thought that a more compassionate and charitable understanding of these "remnants of Israel" would have been in order.

Neusner claims that French, British, and American Judaism does not demonstrate these negative traits. Where has he been? Judaism in these favored lands is marked by a rejection of prophetic Judaism's outreach to the world in favor of a narrow rabbinical emphasis on ethnic purity. Indeed, rabbinical Judaism as a whole, whether orthodox or in its more modernist form, is a rejection of the prophetic universalism which eventually formed Christianity. Toynbee and Spengler were more right than wrong in viewing rabbinical Judaism as the "fossilized" remains of Syrian or Magian civilization, the legacy of having turned entirely inward. Where the challenge of prophetic Judaism and Christianity was loving one's unlovely neighbor, the challenge of rabbinical Judaism was historically the preparation of a priestly people through segregation—but only provisionally, not forever—in order to bring the divine light to the Gentiles. Czech and German Jews today can at least be excused for their narrow defensiveness, but not the prosperous and secure Jews of Britain and America who are preparing for no priestly purpose as far as I can determine. Perhaps Neusner should stick to his more narrow scholarly concerns and not try to paint contemporary religious practice and belief with such a wide brush.

—Norman Ravitch
Professor of History
University of California, Riverside
Riverside, CA

Dr. Neusner Replies:

French, British, and North American Judaisms are so diverse that I cannot imagine which particular Judaism practiced in the West, among many, earned Professor Ravitch's wild enmity or why. But anti-Semitic bias against all Judaism and in favor of any Christianity does not begin with Professor Ravitch and, alas, will not end with him. All of this is ho-hum. The only interesting question his letter raises is, what in the world does his diatribe have to do with my essay? He's just looking for excuses to advertise his hatred of Judaism. We have seen—and survived—worse.

On Adultery and the Military

Although Katherine Dalton's comments about the Kelly Flinn case (Cultural Revolutions, August) are well-taken, they do not quite find the bulls-eye on why the Uniform Code of Military Justice outlaws adultery. Adultery reveals an egregious lack of integrity, by far—at least in the opinion of this former commander of Marines—the most important moral virtue for the military. The issue is one of trust, which is the cement that binds all successful combat units. A man who will cheat on his wife will cheat on his buddies, especially when the shooting starts. Adultery is a supremely selfish act, and no one who commits it has honor (regardless of whether he or she is the married person). The troops know this. They brag about fornicating, but not about committing adultery. Any qualities that a man may have as a warrior are tainted if he is an adulterer.

—(Father) Paul N. Check
North American College
Vatican City

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POL POT, who presided over the murder of more than a million of his fellow Cambodians, has been condemned to life imprisonment after a jungle show-trial by the Khmer Rouge—or what is left of it. Many of Pol Pot's accusers were, in happier days, his accomplices, and the trial had about as much credibility as a Nuremberg Trial presided over by Himmler and Goering.

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright immediately called for Pot to be dragged before an international tribunal. Obviously, it would give many people a great deal of satisfaction to see the mass-murderer humiliated and executed on live television, but like most quick-fix solutions, an international tribunal would do more harm than good.

Consider the record of the much-publicized Hague Tribunal for genocidal crimes in the former Yugoslavia. So far, only the smallest of small fry have been put on trial, and the worst thugs, Serbia's Slobodan Milošević and Franjo Tudjman, have not even been indicted. Why? Because they are playing ball with the United States.

The model is, of course, the Nuremberg Trials of Nazi war criminals after World War II. There is no doubt that most of the Nazi ringleaders deserved their fate, but even at Nuremberg, a double-standard was at work: "gentlemen" like Albert Speer, near the top of the Nazi hierarchy, were spared, while the guttersnipe propagandist, Julius Streicher, whose crime was writing anti-Semitic filth, was executed. Winston Churchill was not the only statesman who disliked the Nuremberg Trials, which left the permanent impression that the victors were only getting their revenge.

We were in a war in Southeast Asia, once upon a time, fighting to contain the spread of communism in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. We lost that war. The reasons no longer matter as much as the fact that we lost. Now, 25 years later, we have a chance to get even, not with Ho Chi Minh or his top generals, but with a communist killer, most of whose victims were Cambodian, not American.

Pol Pot is a stain on the human memory, but no worse a blot than our ally Joseph Stalin or our friend Mao Tse-tung. The late Deng Xiaoping, who served as Mao's hatched man during the Cultural Revolution, was honored by American statesmen and Presidents both during his life and after his death. Compared with Mao and Deng, Pol Pot was small potatoes.

Then why are we calling for an international tribunal? It is partly revenge, of course, and partly the Clinton administration's obsession with creating a new international order in which the United States will attempt to use the United Nations and other international agencies as a puppet. It might work for a while, so long as we have no international rivals, but the world is a big and dangerous place, and no country can monopolize power for very long. The United States played the same game in the 1950's, before the Soviet Union was a superpower. But by the time of the Vietnam War, Soviets were able to manipulate international opinion against us, and the United Nations became a forum for anti-American propaganda.

In 1967, leading European intellectuals (principally Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre) set up their own international tribunal in Stockholm and put a nation on trial for its war crimes. That nation was the United States.

The crimes of the Khmer Rouge were committed against Cambodia and other peoples of Southeast Asia. Let them handle their history as best they can. We have enough to do here at home.

—Thomas Fleming

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT's rendition this summer of Madonna impersonating Evita Peron ("Don't cry for me, Argentinaaaa . . . ") was neither intrinsically interesting nor aesthetically pleasing. The venue was an aircraft—paid by you and me—en route from Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, to Singapore; and according to an eyewitness, the only thing missing was a red orchid in her hair. The audience of assorted media hacks and admiring GS-11 brown-noses would have called it a lot of fun—in public, at least—had the noted Episcopalian not preempted them all by declaring "it was a lot of fun!" Luckily for the former, it was a short flight.

But the Secretary of State's junket was far from trivial. According to the *New York Times*, Albright went to the annual ASEAN meeting in Kuala Lumpur to defend that well-known philanthropist, George Soros, from the accusation—made by Malaysia's Prime Minister Mahatir Mohamad—that Soros and his fellow speculators had used their market prowess to undermine Southeast Asia's currencies. While we readily admit to knowing as much about Malaysian money markets as we do about Mr. Soros' World War II record in Nazi-run Europe, two things are striking here. One, Mr. Soros has become firmly established as an American icon, at least inside the Beltway. Attack him, and you may soon be suspected of planting explosives in federal buildings, or worse, being a Serb. Two, why did Albright feel called upon to intervene in his favor? Now, it would be idle to pretend that their commonality of ethnic, cultural, and geographic background is purely coincidental here. But even if it were, the episode is telling in showing that globalism is not really a conspiracy: it is a social system, a mentality, and an expanding wave of redefinitions. Albright and Soros do not share a secret oath, but they do share a culture and an ideology.

For example, both of them see "Bosnia" as an attractive concept because it is an inherently unstable and artificial edifice; it is the very opposite of a European nation in any conventional sense, a grotesque caricature in fact, where the most brazenly anti-Christian party has been instructed in the rhetoric of "multiethnicity" for the benefit of the Upper East Side, Boulder, Aspen, and Berkeley. Both Albright and Soros insist ad nauseam that Bosnia has to be preserved as an "experiment in multiculturalism," which can only end in a global empire devoid of nation-states and cleansed of the hierarchy of values, culture, tradition, and bonds of loyalty born out of centuries-long shared experiences.

As Michael Stenton of Cambridge University has recently noted, to such people formal legitimacy is becoming a side-issue, as functional legitimacy is deemed sufficient and redefined as less a matter of effective authority or even bal-

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lot boxes than of conformity to globalist precepts: "Only a decade ago, Washington's Big Business liberalism was considered something of a joke by Europe's Left and Right alike. Europe was more social-democratic, more anti-immigration, more atavistic and national. It is striking that the immigration question—the great globalist Signifier—was always handled, in practice, on strangely American assumptions despite the unfriendly national contexts. The power of globalist ideology to freeze the national capacity for action, even reaction, was there for all to see."

The Albright-Soros attack on the nation-state is unrelenting and explicit. The more you resist, the bigger the siege engines used against you. The Swiss decision not to join "Europe"—actually, not the EU but the regulated trade penumbra—they resented. Sure enough, Swiss banks soon hit the headlines. Compared to those now humbled bastions, Malaysian trenches look flimsy. So Mr. Mahatir better take note. What happened to your currency last summer is only a mild warning, a nonchalant shot across the bow, lest you forget your assigned role. Produce more, sell more, import more. And forget who you are. And learn to sing.

—*Srdja Trifkovic*

AL GORE, in a recent address to the National Council of La Raza, the militant Hispanic organization, credited Latinos for creating "a new economy in America" and said "not enough Latinos are participating [in its benefits]. We have a lot of work to do, and we will not rest until everyone in the community shares fully." The problem can be rectified in the next presidential election, if the 32-million-member Latino population goes for Al Gore. On the same day that the Vice President spoke, La Raza released a report showing that one-third of American Hispanics are impoverished—not a surprising datum when juxtaposed with another finding in the report, that 53.4 percent of Latinos in the United States graduated from high school in 1995, compared with 73.8 percent of blacks and 83 percent of whites.

For Clinton Democrats who regard the white American majority as incurably racist, La Raza's statistics have a sinister significance they are eager to share with a potential constituency, which more than one speaker in Chicago referred to as a "sleeping giant." "I don't want to hear any talk that's supposed to make us feel good," said Arturo Vargas, executive director of the National Association of Latino Elected & Appointed Officials Education Fund. "I want to hear about the immigrant bashing and the threats to affirmative action that are sweeping the country."

As the Chicago convention makes clear, the immigration time bomb continues to advance toward detonation, and the blame for this situation rests with the national government. Washington may or may not have had advance knowledge of the Oklahoma City bombing, but it's known about the immigrant invasion since the 1960's and advanced it as national policy ever since—passive at first but then increasingly activist until President Clinton, in a recent address to a convocation of black bigwigs in Washington, felt sufficiently confident to throw caution to the wind and announce a Third American Revolution to transform the United States into a non-European country.

The majority of federal officials strategically placed to implement—or rather to de-implement—American immigration policy are Clinton appointees. Meanwhile, the Clintonization of the Republican Party since the collapse of its own "revolution" has converted the "opposition party" to a me-too position on nearly every issue of national importance, including immigration. The result is that such reforms as were accomplished—for example, the elimination of some welfare benefits to immigrants—have been reversed, and the nation as a whole can look forward to more annual increases in immigration.

Even worse, the botch that goes by the misnomer of immigration policy, through its inept combination of loud talk and carrying a toothpick, has succeeded in polarizing what little real debate on immigration actually exists. In the early 1980's, anti-immigrationists, relying on the time-honored principle that blood is thicker than water, argued that mass immigration from non-European sources would produce a fractured population loyal only to its various ethnic origins, promoting the political and cultural interest of particular ethnic and racial blocs and using its growing numbers to provide the electoral clout necessary to assure those interests. If immigration reform were delayed, they warned, tens of millions of alien voters would put American institutions and the United States as we know it beyond hope of salvation. For some years afterward the danger, however plausible theoretically, seemed not to be materializing. What is the point of emigrating from Mexico to the United States if the rest of Mexico is permitted to follow you there? One poll after another indicated that new or lately arrived immigrants agreed with indigenous Americans in opposing a generous immigration policy, let alone a virtually open one.

Now that situation has changed, thanks to political ineptitude in Washington. A more politically shrewd strategy would have entailed retaining benefits for immigrants already in the United States, while substantially reducing the number of those arriving in the future. Meanwhile, the Clinton administration engages in strenuous efforts to fan the fires of ethnic rivalry to its political advantage. In the interest of a Democratic House of Representatives in 1998, and at the expense of an increasingly racialized polity, the Democrats are willing to sell out the white majority and cater to Señor Vargas *y amigos*. The logical fate of a nation of immigrants is the never-ending struggle among competing immigrant groups as to which of them will dominate that nation. The Democratic Party doesn't care, so long as the winning group isn't white, and so long as it controls everybody—and everything. And the Grand Old Party in concert chirrups, "Me too!"

—*Chilton Williamson, Jr.*

FRANÇOIS FURET's death on July 11 in Toulouse at age 70 ended the career of a truly iconoclastic historian. Despite Furet's association with the political left, as a youthful communist and middle-aged social democrat, his scholarship went against the grain of the French and American academic establishments. In *Penser la Révolution* and in other revisionist works, Furet questioned assumptions about the French Revolution that had been drummed into American as well as French university students for generations. As a graduate student in the mid-1960's, I encountered those dogmas before Furet's *demythification*, most of them drawn from the French Marxist Albert Mathiez and his American disciple Robert Palmer. Robespierre and the Jacobins were allegedly democratic heroes beset by counterrevolution-

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aries at home and abroad, and what had been called the Terror was reinterpreted as a series of countermeasures taken to protect French "democracy." The same type of defensive scenario was then extended to Lenin's revolution, which my classmates and professors presented as an updated form of the French Jacobin birth of freedom.

What Furet and others of his generation did (such as the Sorbonne historian Pierre Chaunu) was to reevaluate the encrusted academic beliefs that had formed around the Revolution. They took seriously what its critics accused it of doing, massacring well in excess of 100,000 of their presumed royalist countrymen, including babies, putting into practice a conspiratorial view of the world extracted from the Masons and Illuminati, and preaching what Burke called an "armed doctrine" against nonrevolutionized governments. Furet demonstrated that the radical revolutionaries who drove events forward in the early 1790's were not merely responding to unexpected circumstances. They took advantage of the chaos they helped unleash to carry out a planned "purification." Whether overthrowing a decrepit monarchy that had ultimately granted a liberal constitution or turning upon insufficiently "republican" colleagues, these revolutionaries, as seen by Furet, foreshadowed the Bolsheviks in their brutal practice and accusatory rhetoric. Those who compared the two groups were often right in their judgment, albeit for unintended reasons.

Significantly, this critical view of the Revolution has largely prevailed, and even the celebration in France of the bicentenary of its outbreak was accompanied by journalistic and scholarly attacks on the bloody course of events initiated in 1789. Such attacks went beyond what Furet wished others to think was his own measured judgment of the Revolution, exemplified by his distinction between its liberal and radical phrases. As both the *Chicago Tribune* and *Le Figaro* noted in obituaries, Furet traced his own post-communist politics back to the early stages of the Revolution. Then it still represented a liberal European heritage culminating in what Professor Nathan Tarcov, a colleague of Furet's at the University of Chicago, describes as "representative democracy, human rights, and a mixed economy."

But this heritage is not a liberal European but a social democratic one, and it may be argued that Furet's analysis disallows the kind of distinction he himself intermittently made for prudential reasons. Distinguishing among the phases of that upheaval ignores Furet's real teaching, that "*la Révolution fait bloc*" was a self-radicalizing process driven by continuing ideological currents. The Rockford Institute might have acted on the basis of what it properly perceived as this analytic thrust of his work when it granted Furet an Ingersoll Prize three years ago. His longtime admirer, a descendant of Huguenots, and an authentic European liberal, Pierre Chaunu, observes the paradox of Furet's relation to the Revolution. Moved by his own disillusionment with communist reconstructions of reality to investigate related falsifications of revolutionary events, Furet nonetheless stopped halfway in his own political development as a non-Marxist progressive. But he did achieve his revisionist goal as a professor and author on two continents more thoroughly than any explicitly conservative critic of his subject. Precisely because of where he stood, on the left (however moderately), Furet would be listened to, unlike the Catholic, antirevolutionary sources he incorporated into his scholarship. By the time of his death, as a result of a fatal fall while playing tennis, Furet had discredited the adulatory approach to the Revolution which still flourished in the 1960's. By now this achievement may be irreversible.

—Paul Gottfried

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EPICYCLES:

• More Pilfered Prose: The queen of Harlequin romance novels, Janet Dailey (90 novels, over 300 million sold), has been caught lifting the bodice of another romance novelist's work. But as David Steitfeld reported in the *Washington Post* this summer, the **plagiarism** wasn't Dailey's fault. As the novelist explained, her "random and non-pervasive acts of copying are attributable to a psychological problem that I never even suspected I had. I have already begun treatment for the disorder and have been assured that, with treatment, this behavior can be prevented in the future." This excuse is almost as good as that of Franco-Cameroon novelist Colixthe Beyala, who received the *grand prix du roman* from the French Academy last October and has since been exposed as a chronic plagiarist. As an article in *Le Point* put it, Ms. Beyala claims "an extraordinary memory peculiar to the African tradition in which one may, without recrimination, . . . resolve oneself from any ill intention because she is a woman and a Black." The technical name for this disorder is B.A.M.: Big African Memory.

• The Rockford Schools Case Continues: **Desegregation** Master Eugene Eubanks, who's apparently trying to destroy Rockford even more thoroughly than he destroyed Kansas City, presented his latest desegregation budget in early August. Actually, "presented" may not be the right word. The $23.5 million budget—that's in addition to the school district's bloated budget of $146 million—was supposed to be filed with the clerk's office of the U.S. District Court in Rockford on August 7. The day before, Master Eubanks ordered an employee to FedEx the budget from the school district's central office to the courthouse *six blocks away*. The package went to Chicago before returning to Rockford, where it was apparently delivered to the wrong building and hasn't been seen since. Much like Master Eubanks: after approving the budget for release a mere nine days before the last day on which the school board could file a challenge in federal court, Master Eubanks left on a ten-day vacation.

• The *Real* Criminals: The *National Institute of Justice Journal*, a publication of the U.S. Department of Justice, recently ran an article entitled "Crime & Illegal Immigration: Emerging Local, State, and Federal Partnerships." The article does not live up to its encouraging title. It seems that William McDonald, a professor at Georgetown University, has discovered the real victims of **illegal immigration**: the *illegales* themselves. "In the heat of the discussion over . . . the proper role of local law enforcement in immigration control, it is easy to overlook another side of the issue, namely, protecting illegal immigrants from the exploitation and victimization to which they are so vulnerable." Those who remain unconvinced that our government believes in protecting everyone but American citizens need look no further. Professor McDonald makes no attempt

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to conceal his admiration for the thin blue line that protects defenseless foreign-born criminals from our homegrown ones: "the San Diego Police Department operates a . . . unit that patrols the canyons every night assuring surprised illegal immigrants that they are there to protect them." And the protection doesn't stop at the border. According to McDonald, "the State's Attorney's Office in Montgomery Country [sic], Maryland, has begun operating a 'theft of services' unit, which deals primarily with getting justice for illegal immigrants cheated by employers who often threaten to report them to INS if they complain." Your tax dollars at work.

• Free at Last: The *London Times* reports that an increasing number of young career women in England are choosing **sterilization**, even before they get married. Living in a man's world, they view children with all the maternal feeling of a CPA. A 27-year-old "sales manager for a health company," who was sterilized at age 25, is a typical case, according to the *Times*: "I always knew I did not want to have children; I don't like them and could see no reason why I shouldn't be sterilised. My mother was thrilled when I told her. She is not very maternal either, and I am an only child." (Apparently she's now decided that one child was too many.) "But my grandmother was devastated. She thinks everybody should breed like rabbits." Behind this upsurge in sterilizations is the feminist belief that a woman can't live a full life unless she denies her very nature: "I felt liberated when I had it done and was glad to have put the motherhood issue behind me. . . . My partner . . . is as anti-children as I am, and sees it as a bonus." No doubt. After all, he can always change his mind.

OBITER DICTA: The **League of the South** (formerly the Southern League) conducted its first summer school in early July on Johns Island, South Carolina. By all accounts, it was a stunning success. More than half of the students attended because they saw an advertisement in *Chronicles*, and some came from exotic locales such as California, New York, and Minnesota. The next summer school will be held on Johns Island in late June 1998. The Southern League, by the way, has changed its name to the League of the South in order to avoid confusion with the Southern League baseball league. Please make the appropriate changes in your back issues of *Chronicles*.

Michael Washburn, the assistant editor of *Chronicles* for the past three years, has returned to his old stomping grounds of Brooklyn, New York. He now works for Thames and Hudson, the British publishing firm. We wish him well in his new career. Our new assistant editor, **Scott Richert**, is no stranger to these pages. He has worked at the Rockford Institute for almost two years and directs the Institute's *Main Street Voices* op-ed program and our new Main Street Speakers' Bureau. He and his wife, Amy, have two children, Rebekah and Jacob.

University of Calgary classics professor **Barry Baldwin**, whose article "Crime, Punishment, and Civility" appeared in the August issue of *Chronicles*, has been elected to the Royal Society of Canada. The Royal Society's citation reads in part: "In over a dozen books and 400 scholarly papers, Baldwin has earned an international reputation for his acute studies of the classical world and late antiquity." We congratulate him on this august honor.

The poetry of **Harold McCurdy** returns to our pages this month. The author of eight volumes of verse, Mr. McCurdy's current collection is *Realizing Westward*. *Chronicles* is illustrated this month by **H. Ward Sterett**, an artist who works in a variety of media. A resident of Roscoe, Illinois, Mr. Sterett has traveled widely and participated in snow-sculpting competitions in Sweden and Switzerland.

Chronicles is now sold at the following stores in **Tennessee**: Little Professor Book Center, Northtown Center, Hixon; Davis Kidd Booksellers Inc., 113 North Peters Rd., Knoxville; Anderson News, 10612 Dutchtown Rd., Knoxville; Williams Booksellers Ltd., 262 Heritage Park Dr., Murfreesboro; Davis Kidd Booksellers, 869 North Pkwy., Jackson; Davis Kidd Booksellers, 4007 Hillsboro Rd., Nashville; Media Play, 100 Oaks Mall, Nashville; Media Play, Hickory Hollow Mall, Antioch; Media Play, Gunbarrel Crossing, Chattanooga; Media Play, Cool Springs Market, Franklin; Tobacco Corner News Room, 671 S. Mendenhall, Memphis; Barnes & Noble Superstore, Germantown Village, Memphis.

***The Stance Of Atlas* by Peter F. Erickson Examines Ayn Rand's Philosophy of Objectivism**

Ayn Rand's major teachings are considered in detail. In addition to this, special attention is given to the relation of her philosophy of Objectivism to Einstein's theory of relativity and also to Dialectical Materialism (the intellectual basis of Marxism).

Ayn Rand's rejection of collectivism is not disputed. Her position on the efficacy of reason remains--also her acceptance of freewill.

Ayn Rand's epistemological and metaphysical teachings are subjected to extensive criticism. Her attempt to solve the problem of universals is shown to be a failure. *The Stance Of Atlas* actually provides the correct solution. She believed, incorrectly, that Objectivism has the key to answering the problem of induction. *The Stance Of Atlas* shows that this problem was basically solved by a forgotten English logician early in this century. Contrary to Rand's Objectivism, it is established that reason is open to the possibility of God's existence.

Ayn Rand's attempt to found a new morality is shown to be less than what she took it to be. The defense of fractional reserve banking made by Alan Greenspan in Rand's book on capitalism is related. Other important issues are discussed.

Considerably less relativistic than Objectivism, *The Stance Of Atlas* is also implicitly more individualistic.

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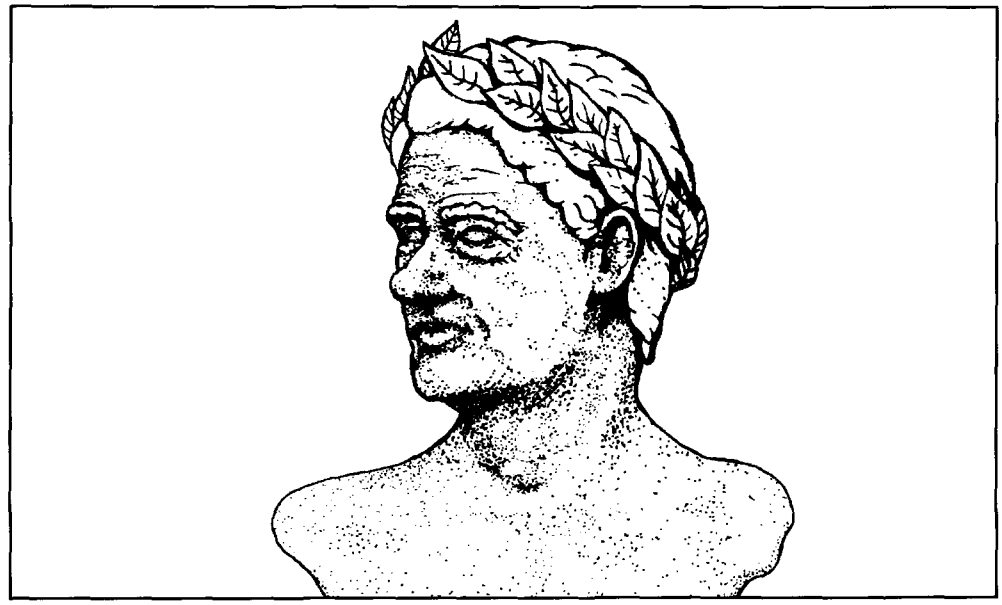

H. Ward Sterett

From White House to Blockhouse

by Thomas Fleming

Bill Clinton is the American icon, whose face is rapidly eclipsing both the profile of the heroic young Kennedy and the simpering grin of Jimmy Carter—the presidential images that until recently symbolized victory and despair for Democrats and something else for Republicans. It was understandable if, in the early 60's, Republicans could not appreciate the Kennedy charm. If only Americans knew the truth, they must have felt, about this womanizing son of a rum-runner, they would not make the mistake of voting for him a second time. Perhaps they were right. In those days, there may well have been American citizens who cared enough about the intellectual and moral qualities of their leaders to take up their pitchforks and drive Mordred and Guinevere from Camelot.

There is no excuse for this kind of fantasy today. Ever since 1992, conservative journalists have been telling me that Clinton would end up impeached and indicted. The *London Sunday Telegraph*'s Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, who had the goods on Bill long before any American reporter, confidently predicted he would be out by 1994. Unfortunately, the rugged honesty of 18th-century Americans is stored in a museum of moral history along with chaste women, chivalrous gentlemen, and the complete works of Parson Weems. If Clinton had been George Washington, he would have turned the cherry tree into gunstocks to sell to the Indians and spent the profits in a brothel. Confronted by his father, he would have pinned the crime on his mother and run for office on a platform promising price supports for fruit-growers and civil rights for children and Native Americans.

Almost the entire summer was consumed by the President's "ethical" problems. Senator Thompson's investigations into Clinton's ties with the two Chinas were, unfortunately, complicated by the Republicans' Asian skeletons in their own fundraising closet. Still, the only conservative books to make a stir were exposés of the first family. Enough dirt has been unearthed to turn Arizona into a potato farm, and yet Clinton keeps smiling. His smile only deepened when House Republicans were dumb enough to stage a coup against Speaker Gingrich (haven't they heard about not dividing your forces in the face of the enemy?) and then lose.

It is not that no one cares. Obviously, many Americans think Clinton is the worse thing to happen to this country since Franklin Roosevelt, but how many people even know who FDR was or what he did? Most of us might even enjoy the spectacle of Bill and Hillary being dragged through the mud, not because we are virtuous republicans but for the same reason that we read the tabloids. Like most slaves, we are content to lick our master's boots until the day he needs our help. When he falls from power, we loot his house and insult his wife. We strip the sheets off his deathbed even before the corpse is cold.

Presidents are our masters. They know it, and we know it. They rule by right of popular will instead of the will of God, but they rule nonetheless. This was not the intention of the men who fought in the bloody war of secession from the English crown. At the Constitutional Convention, Alexander Hamilton was suspected of harboring monarchist sentiments, but a Hamiltonian monarch would have been a very Whiggish kind of king, more like George II than either his son or his Stuart predecessors. For all his faults, Hamilton was no friend to absolutism. He favored a broadly republican regime directed by representatives of a dedicated aristocracy. A strong executive was a necessity, if only as a symbolic representative of the diverse states and communities that were cobbling together a

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makeshift union. Octavio Paz says much the same thing about Spain and Mexico: Spain will succeed because the King represents all the peoples of the nation, while Mexico must fail because no democracy can represent the tribes of Mexico.

Paradoxically, Americans might have been better able to preserve their liberties under an inherited monarchy—where people are expected to love the king, while protecting their privileges against his usurpations—than under a democracy, where the fiction of a majority can overturn all precedent and privilege. Asked what kind of government had been designed in Philadelphia, Ben Franklin responded, "a republic, if you can keep it." Everyone understood what he meant. Despite all the rhetoric of exporting democracy around the world, self-government is a rare and difficult accomplishment even for an independent-minded people. All the Framers understood that tyranny and servility are natural phenomena; courage and independence are the privileges of aristocracy. The dream of republicans, in ancient Greece as in 18th-century America, was to give the majority—not everybody, mind you, but a majority—the possibility of living like aristocrats who could, like John Randolph, love liberty and hate equality, understanding that equality is the tool of cynical despots.

The American republic, which was an expression of the American character, rested on a set of simple assumptions. In foreign affairs, we would mind our own business and ask others to do the same. This policy was not only just but essential for the survival of the republic. Conquests require standing armies, which entail the militarization of the nation and the elevation of the military hero into a demigod. An imperial republic is a contradiction in terms, as the examples of Athens, Rome, and Venice show.

At home, the national government was severely constrained by the Constitution. The states were semisovereign, and as the only Federalist President, John Adams, observed, Congress was not a parliament representing the will of the nation: it was a diplomatic body representing sovereign states. Most Americans were farmers, and this federal republic was also an agrarian nation, north and south. Despite the efforts of Hamilton and later the Whigs to sell off the nation to the bankers, the Jeffersonians were keen on paying off the debt, balancing the budget, and minimizing the corruption that is inevitable in government.

The experiment succeeded for several generations, but in the past 140 years, the republic slowly hardened into empire. In the more advanced phase—the presidencies of Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, and Lyndon Johnson—the diagnosis of imperial progression is complicated by world wars, depression, and the ideological millstones invented by the devil to tempt mankind in its last stage of decadence—Nazism and communism. The purpose of our imperial regime is revealed most clearly in its infancy, and even today it bears the features of the politicians who presided at its birth in the 1860's and 1870's.

Inevitably, we are forced to examine the legacy of Abraham Lincoln. In the United States today, it is as easy to speak honestly of Abraham Lincoln as it would have been for a Russian to attack the memory of Lenin in 1940. Every other American hero has come in for a serious debunking—Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry—but it is still considered treason to speak plainly about Abraham Lincoln.

The reason for Lincoln's canonization is simple: the American regime rests upon Lincoln's accomplishment, because Lincoln destroyed the Old Republic of the Founding Fathers and laid the foundation for a new order in which the government exercises absolute power in the name of equality and human rights. Lincoln's personal ambition and political inexperience led to a war that devastated the wealthiest section of the United States and turned the peaceful republic of Jefferson and Jackson into a plutocratic empire whose army is stationed all over the world. Worst of all, it was Lincoln who taught American demagogues to misappropriate the language of Scripture and to turn practical political questions into holy crusades for human rights.

In the course of their great crusade, the President and his chief generals concerted the first total war of modern times, a war waged against the women and children of the South: houses were burned, food and property stolen, women (mostly black) were raped—all on a grand scale and as part of a deliberate policy to starve and torture the Southern people into submission. Lincoln's innovations were recognized and condemned as revolutionary by the European powers. The President, in his simplicity, could not understand what the fuss was about. In the event, Grant and Sherman were proved right, and with the partial exception of the Franco-Prussian War, every major military conflict since the American "Civil War" has been a total war waged against soldiers and civilians alike.

In 1997 American troops are quartered in a hundred different countries, most prominently in Bosnia, which we have conquered in order to assist the anti-Christian *jihad* going on there. In the early 19th century, we refused to go to war to help the republics of Latin America or nations like Greece and Serbia fighting to liberate themselves from the Turks—it wasn't our fight, we said. Today, we are doing everything in our power to give those nations back to the Turks, as part of an imperial grand design whose origins lie in the Lincoln administration, which began our government's policy of imperialism by conquering and subjugating the once-free states of the South.

Previous empires have been more frank in describing their activities. The Athenians and Romans spoke of peace and civilization, but also of glory and self-interest. We, however, are not by nature an imperial race and cloak our worst actions in the mantle of religious language. We are in Bosnia to protect human rights and to reestablish democracy—as if Turks had the slightest idea of what that would mean. We went to Vietnam to stop the spread of godless communism. We have spent virtually the entire century promoting wars to end all wars, waging perpetual war for perpetual peace.

Lincoln's admirers have said that he was motivated by a commitment to equality and a respect for African-American slaves. However, the racial attitudes espoused by Lincoln and his colleagues are closer to those of the KKK than to those of the NAACP. As early as 1837 Lincoln argued that "The Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different states." His Emancipation Proclamation was a strictly political act designed to appeal to European liberals. In fact, it only applied to slaves outside Lincoln's jurisdiction, not to slaves held in the slave states within the Union.

In the Lincoln-Douglas debates, Lincoln expressed his racism with brutal frankness: "I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races [applause] . . . I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white

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people . . . there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will for ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality."

Early in his career, Lincoln had favored the deportation of blacks to Africa or Latin America—a massive campaign of ethnic cleansing—but realizing the impracticality of such schemes, he was "in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race." Too much should not be made of Lincoln's lifelong commitment to white racial hegemony. His racial outlook was almost entirely conventional. His only distinction is the success he had in combining negrophobia with resentment of the South as a winning electoral strategy.

Lincoln justified his extralegal acts on the grounds that he was saving the Union, but since he routinely violated the Constitution on which that Union was based, he is like the man who beats his wife in order to save the marriage. Until the Southern states seceded, Lincoln had never contradicted an earlier statement he had made, endorsing the right to secede: "Any people anywhere . . . have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better," adding that "Any portion of such people that can, may revolutionize, and make their own, of so much territory as they inhabit." To make it clear that this was no casual *obiter dictum*, he also said: "This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world."

The worship of Lincoln was an almost natural phenomenon in the years after a brutal and tragic war. More recently, Father Abraham is honored for the ideological revolution he begat, a revolution that converted a moderate and balanced republic into the kind of Jacobin democracy practiced by Robespierre. Like Robespierre, Lincoln was a nonbeliever who loved to misuse religious language. M.E. Bradford aptly criticized "his habit of wrapping up his policy in the idiom of Holy Scripture, concealing within the Trojan horse of his gasconade and moral superiority, an agenda that would never have been approved if presented in any other form."

Religious rhetoric was common in American statesmen of the 19th century, many of whom were committed Christians. Lincoln, on the other hand, was a freethinker. His stepmother said of the young Lincoln's religion: "Abe had no particular religion—didn't think of these questions at that time, if he ever did," and as one early biographer put it, "When he went to church at all, he went to mock and came away to mimic." He frequently spoke against the divinity of Christ, and there is no sign that he changed his mind.

This mixture of messianic language and cynical brutality is commonplace among our own rulers, particularly in domestic politics, where the ideology of civil rights and human rights are invoked to justify wars of conquest and the subversion of every obstacle to totalitarian government. Back in the 60's there were well-meaning idealists who thought that Southern states ought to grant voting rights and other privileges to African-American citizens. Many were content to fight these battles locally in a civil manner and with respect for the Constitution. Others, however, on the principle that might makes right, invoked the power of the federal government, whose agents were all too happy to step in and impose a second reconstruction.

But how do these human rights work in practice? Before 1965 black Southerners, it is certainly true, enjoyed fewer civil rights than whites; now, we are all equally disenfranchised and disempowered. There is no point in blaming blacks, who were merely the tool of ambitious lawyers and politicians. We are all in the same boat. A few years ago in Alexandria, Virginia, a black mother was sick of seeing drug peddlers in her neighborhood. She succeeded in getting an antiloitering ordinance passed, only to see it challenged by the NAACP. What kind of civil rights organization, she asked, puts drug dealers back on the streets of a black neighborhood?

The administrations of Lincoln and Grant were a trial run for the imperial government that has been replacing the Old Republic since 1932. It was in Lincoln's administration that the government learned the dangerous lesson that to finance the schemes that enriched their supporters the government only needed to print more money. The Gilded Age of corruption during the Grant administration was only a successor to Lincoln's wheeling and dealing. As Bradford comments: "The euphemism of our time calls this 'income redistribution,' but it was theft in 1864, and it is theft today."

Conservative historian Gottfried Dietze compared Lincoln's regime with the French Committee of Public Safety, which imposed a reign of terror on the people of France. In a famous article Mel Bradford outlined Lincoln's dictatorial measures: he illegally summoned the militia in 1861 (without Congress), spent millions in unauthorized funds, decreed a blockade, defied the Supreme Court, seized property, arrested over 20,000 of his political enemies and confined them without trial, closed over 300 newspapers, imported an army of foreign mercenaries (as many as 500,000 men), used federal troops to secure his own reelection, and created the state of West Virginia in defiance of the Constitution.

The result was the creation of an American system that turned its back on Jeffersonian democracy and elevated the national government to a divine status. As our own current President has said, there are those who say they love their country but hate their government. Before Lincoln, this attitude would have puzzled no one. This republic was founded by men who loved their country but hated their government. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance, and it is against our rulers that we must be on guard.

Perhaps Lincoln's worst bequest was to African-Americans. A few years ago I was having lunch with a black historian in New York, and he observed of Lincoln that his Emancipation Proclamation plunged millions of African-Americans into a market economy they did not understand. The best historians of slavery have shown that, on average, black slaves were better off than contemporary white workers in the North and better off than their own free children after emancipation. Anyone who says that at least those children had their freedom, knows very little of the African-American experience.

Today, many wars after Mr. Lincoln's and with trillions of dollars of debt, the American people are bondslaves to great multinational interests who send our sons into foreign wars in which we have nothing to gain, who openly bribe our political leaders with campaign contributions from foreign governments, and who have created a vast government apparatus that tells us how to bring up our children, where to send them to school, how to provide for our elderly parents, what we can eat and drink, what we can smoke, and what we can say or think. If George Washington and Thomas Jefferson had known what lay ahead, they would have put on red coats and suppressed the secessionists of 1776.

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Mr. Lincoln's War

An Irrepressible Conflict?

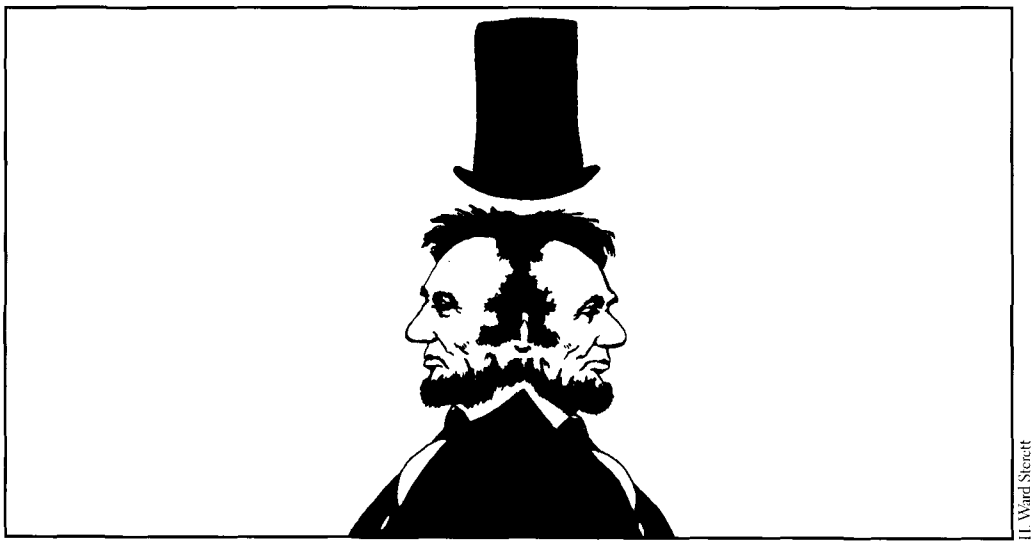
by Patrick J. Buchanan

"[T]he contest is really for empire on the side of the North, and for independence on that of the South, and in this respect we recognize an exact analogy between the North and the Government of George III, and the South and the Thirteen Revolted Provinces. These opinions . . . are the general opinions of the English nation."

—*London Times*, November 7, 1861

"The preservation of the union is the supreme law."

—Andrew Jackson, December 25, 1832



H. Ward Stevett

The Civil War was the greatest tragedy ever to befall the nation. Brother slew brother. Six hundred thousand of America's best and bravest died of shot, shell, and disease. The South was bled to death, invaded, ravaged by Union armies, occupied for a dozen years. Under federal bayonets, her social and political order was uprooted and the 11 states that had fought to be free of the Union were "reconstructed" by that Union. America's South would need a century to recover.

Thirteen decades after Appomattox the questions remain: Was it "an irrepressible conflict"? Was it a necessary war? Was it, as Churchill wrote, "the noblest and least avoidable of all the great mass-conflicts of which till then there was record"? Was it a just war? What became of the great tariff issue that had divided and convulsed the nation equally with slavery in the decades before the war? Are there lessons for us in this most terrible of tragedies where all of the dead were Americans?

This article is a chapter from a forthcoming book on America's wars by Patrick J. Buchanan.

After any such war, it is the victors who write the history. That has surely been true of the Civil War. Among the great myths taught to American schoolchildren has been that the "Great Emancipator," Abraham Lincoln, was elected to free the slaves from bondage, that America's "Civil War" was fought to end slavery in the United States.

This is fable. Even the name given this terrible war is wrong. A civil war is a struggle for power inside a nation like the War of the Roses, or the horrible war between Bolsheviks and Czarists in Russia, "Reds" and "Whites," after Lenin's October Revolution. The combatants from 1861-1865 were not fighting over who would govern the United States. The South had never contested Lincoln's election. The South wanted only to be free of the Union.

The war was not over who would rule in Washington, but who would rule in South Carolina, Georgia, and the five Gulf states that had seceded by the time of Fort Sumter. From the standpoint of the North, this was a War of Southern Secession, a War to Preserve the Union. To the South this was the

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War for Southern Independence.

The Birth of a Myth

At the dedication of Gettysburg Battlefield, on November 19, 1863, three years after Lincoln's election, the Great Myth was born. There, Abraham Lincoln declared that the war had been, all along, about equality.

> Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.
>
> Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure.

But four score and seven years before Lincoln spoke was 1776. The "new nation" may have been "conceived" in 1776, but it was not born until 1788 after the ninth state had ratified the Constitution. In that Constitution, freemen, black and white, were equal. But slavery, the antithesis of equality, was protected. By Benjamin Franklin's compromise, slaves were to be considered as three-fifths of a person for purposes of representation in the House. Painful to concede, it is more truthful to say that slavery, the essence of inequality, was embedded in the Constitution of the new nation.

Moreover, in reaching back to 1776, Lincoln had invoked, in defense of a war to crush a rebellion, the most powerful brief ever written on behalf of rebellion. The Declaration of Independence is not about preserving a union. It is a declaration of secession, of separation; it is about the "Right of the People to alter or to abolish" one form of government "and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness." It is about a people's right "to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them."

Lincoln's words, eloquent as they are, are the sheerest audacity. As Garry Wills writes approvingly, Lincoln, at Gettysburg,

> performed one of the most daring acts of open-air sleight-of-hand ever witnessed by the unsuspecting. Everyone in that vast throng of thousands was having his or her intellectual pocket picked. The crowd departed with a new thing in its ideological luggage, that new constitution Lincoln had substituted for the one they brought there with them. They walked off, from those curving graves on the hillside, under a changed sky, into a different America. Lincoln had revolutionized the Revolution, giving people a new past to live with that would change their future indefinitely.

On reading Lincoln's address, many, North and South, were astounded. In suggesting the terrible war had all along been about equality, what was the President talking about? Quoting the Constitution back to the President, the *Chicago Times* charged Lincoln with betraying both that sacred document he had taken an oath to defend and the men who had died for it:

> It was to uphold this constitution, and the Union created by it, that our officers and soldiers gave their lives at Gettysburg. How dare he, then, standing on their graves, misstate the cause for which they died, and libel the statesmen who founded the government?

Even as Lincoln spoke, slavery was still legal in Washington, D.C., the seat of government, as well in Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, Delaware, and the areas of Tennessee that had remained loyal.

The Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, freed only the slaves in those states that were still in rebellion. All other slaves remained the protected property of their masters. Prime Minister Palmerston noted in amusement that Lincoln had undertaken to abolish slavery where he had no power to do so, while protecting slavery where he had the power to destroy it. Indeed, when issuing the proclamation, Lincoln confided to his secretary that he had done so only as a "military necessity" after the defeats of First and Second Manassas, Jackson's Valley Campaign, the Seven Days battle, Chancellorsville, Fredericksburg, and the stalemate at Antietam:

> Things had gone on from bad to worse, until I felt that we had reached the end of our rope on the plan of operation we had been pursuing; that we had about played out our last card, and must change our tactics, or lose the game. I now determined upon the adoption of the emancipation policy.

Far from universal celebration, the Emancipation Proclamation was regarded by many, even in abolitionist England, as a cynical and awful weapon of war, settled upon by Lincoln in desperation. As Sheldon Vanauken points out in *The Glittering Illusion: English Sympathy for the Southern Confederacy* (1989):

> [T]he Confederate states were winning the war. Only a few days before, Lee had smashed Burnside at Fredericksburg. The Proclamation freed all the slaves *within* the Confederate lines. . . . These slaves were grouped on the isolated plantations, controlled for the most part by the women since their gentlemen were off to the wars. The only possible effect of the Proclamation would be the dreaded servile insurrection (that which John Brown was hanged for inciting). *Either a slave rising—or nothing.* So Englishmen saw it. Lincoln's insincerity was regarded as proven by two things: his earlier denial of any lawful right or wish to free the slaves; and, especially, his *not* freeing the slaves in "loyal" Kentucky and other United States areas or even in Confederate areas occupied by United States troops, such as New Orleans. It should be remembered that [in England] the horrors of the Indian mutiny, as well as the slave uprising in St. Domingo, were in every memory.

The effect of the proclamation upon many in the Union ranks was the same. They had gone to war not to free the slaves but to preserve the nation! As James McPherson writes in *What They Fought For, 1861-1865*,

> plenty of soldiers believed that the proclamation had changed the purpose of the war. They professed to feel betrayed. They were willing to risk their lives for the

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> Union, they said, but not for black freedom. . . . Desertion rates rose alarmingly. Many soldiers blamed the Emancipation Proclamation.

Closing his address, Lincoln spoke of the duty imposed on Americans by those who had fallen on the great battlefield. We "here highly resolve," he said, in his immortal words, "that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." If Southerners found this incredible, it is understandable.

The Confederates had never sought to cause the Government of the United States to "perish from the earth." It was the Union that was seeking to cause the Confederacy and the governments of the 11 Southern states to "perish." Had the South wanted the government to "perish from the earth," the Confederate army could have marched into Lincoln's capital after the First Battle of Bull Run in June 1861, when the Union army had been sent up the road to Washington in wild retreat. The South did not want this; the South only wanted to be free.

While Lincoln surely knew his eloquent words would be noted, and remembered, he could not have known his brief remarks would become the most famous address in American history. Nor is there evidence that Lincoln, at this moment, deliberately enlarged the war aims of the Union. But at Gettysburg, the war aims of the Union were enlarged, dramatically. In that address, they do go beyond anything Lincoln enunciated before the war began. Indeed, if racial equality was now Lincoln's and the Union's goal, then Lincoln himself was a changed man. For the Abraham Lincoln of 1861 was no champion of political or social equality.

"We Cannot Make Them Equals"

The Lincoln Americans know, the father figure with the wise and wonderful wit, who came out of Illinois to free the slaves, and believed in racial equality—who would have marched with Martin Luther King, Jr.—would be unrecognizable to his contemporaries. While Lincoln as early as 1854 had condemned slavery as a "monstrous injustice," and bravely took the antislavery side in senatorial campaign debates with Stephen A. Douglas, here is the Republican candidate for the United States Senate on the stump, in Charleston, Illinois, on September 18, 1858, after he had been baited by the "Little Giant" to explain where he stood on marriage between the races, and on social and political equality:

> I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races,—that I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will for ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.

Four years before, at Peoria, on October 16, 1854, Lincoln confessed to his ambivalence as to what should be done about slavery, and with the freed black men and women were slavery abolished:

> If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia,—to their own native land. . . . [But free] them, and make them politically and socially, our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. . . . A universal feeling, whether well or ill-founded, can not be safely disregarded. We can not, then, make them equals.

Three years later, in June of 1857, in Springfield, Lincoln was still entertaining the idea of repatriating the freed slaves back to their native continent:

> Such separation, if ever effected at all, must be effected by colonization; . . . what colonization most needs is a hearty will. . . . Let us be brought to believe it is morally right . . . to transfer the African to his native clime, and we shall find a way to do it, however great the task may be.

In urging colonization Lincoln was echoing men of far greater learning and higher station, such as Jefferson and Madison. In 1829, the author of the Constitution became president of the American Colonization Society—founded by John Randolph and Henry Clay after the War of 1812—"in the belief that its plan to return slaves to Africa represented the most sensible way out of that long-festering crisis." Clay, Lincoln's idol, advocated returning the slaves to Africa throughout his public career. In eulogizing Clay in Springfield on July 6, 1852, Lincoln celebrated his hero's lifelong association with the American Colonization Society, and quoted Clay's 1827 address to that society:

> There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children, whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil the rich fruits of religion, civilization, law and liberty.

In hearty approval of Clay's words, Lincoln declared:

> This suggestion of the possible ultimate redemption of the African race and African continent was made twenty-five years ago. Every succeeding year has added strength to the hope of its realization. May it indeed be realized!

Gradual repatriation and return of all the slaves to Africa, said Lincoln in the closing words of his long eulogy, would be a "glorious consummation"—Henry Clay's greatest contribution to his country.

Lincoln's words in the decade prior to his presidency are jolting to the modern ear. But all they tell us is this: on racial equality, Lincoln in 1858 was a man of his time and place. Like almost all white males of his age, he believed the races should remain separate. This is confirmed by his ardent admirer, Gen-

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eral Donn Piatt, who thought Lincoln "the greatest figure looming up in our history." After meeting with the President-elect in Springfield, Piatt wrote on the eve of Lincoln's departure for Washington:

> Expressing no sympathy for the slave, [Lincoln] laughed at the Abolitionists. . . . We were not at a loss to get at the fact, and the reason for it, in the man before us. Descended from the poor whites of a slave State, through many generations, he inherited the contempt, if not the hatred, held by that class for the negro.

A man must be measured against his time. As Lincoln himself said in his Second Inaugural: "judge not that we be not judged." Lincoln's position on slavery—that it was evil, that he would have no part of it—was that of a principled politician of courage. As for his views on racial equality, they were the views of almost all of his countrymen. But if Lincoln did not go to war to make men equal, did he go to war to "make men free"—to end the evil of slavery? For to answer the question, "Was this a just war?" we have to understand why both sides fought.

Lincoln's Concessions to the South

Unlike the Lincoln of Gettysburg battlefield in 1863, the Lincoln who slipped into Washington in disguise in the dead of night in the winter of 1861 did not have the least intention of freeing any slaves. Nor did the South have reason to fear Lincoln would, or could, abolish slavery. The Supreme Court was Southern-dominated, led by Chief Justice Roger Taney of the 1857 Dred Scott decision. There was no threat to slavery from that quarter. And, during the campaign of 1860, Lincoln repeatedly assured the South he was no Abolitionist. In the first paragraphs of his Inaugural Address, Lincoln repeated his assurances that he would make no attempt to abolish slavery.

> Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property, and their peace, and personal security, are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no intention to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I have made this, and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them.

His party's platform, said Lincoln, endorsed the "inviolate" right of each state to "control its own domestic institutions." In excoriation of John Brown's raid, Lincoln noted in his Inaugural that, in their 1860 platform, Republicans "denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

South Carolina had seceded on the grounds that the United States was failing to uphold the fugitive slave provision of the Constitution. But Lincoln assured Southerners their escaped slaves would be returned:

> There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions: "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."
>
> It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it, for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the law-giver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause, "shall be delivered up," their oaths are unanimous. *Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law, by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?* [Emphasis added.]

Lincoln is calling here for a new federal fugitive slave law to reinforce Congress' constitutional obligation that escaped slaves "shall be delivered up" to their masters. In capturing and returning fugitive slaves, said Lincoln, some observers favor state authority, others federal authority. But, he asked: What is the difference? "If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him, or to others, by which authority it is done."

The issue on which Republicans were united was that the extension of slavery to new states should be halted. Lincoln did not back down from this position in his Inaugural Address. But he did offer a guarantee to the South that where slavery existed, it could be made a permanent institution, by a *new* constitutional amendment.

> One section of our country believes slavery is *right*, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is *wrong*, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. . . . I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution . . . has passed Congress, to the effect that the federal government, shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express, and irrevocable.

Thus, in this final concession, Lincoln says he would not oppose a constitutional amendment to make slavery permanent in the 15 states where it then existed. The first Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution Abraham Lincoln endorsed, then, did not end chattel slavery, but would have authorized chattel slavery forever. No true Abolitionist could have been other than horrified by Lincoln's first Inaugural Address.

Is there a moral defense of Lincoln's offer to make perma-

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nent an institution that all now agree was odious and evil? Only this: if it was not wrong for the Founding Fathers to accept slavery as the price of a constitution to establish the United States, it cannot be wrong for Lincoln to reaffirm the Founding Fathers' concession—to repair and restore his fractured country. In appeasing the South on slavery, Lincoln was being faithful to the Constitution he had sworn to protect and defend, and to his duty as President to unite his divided nation. He was also being true to his belief that, if slavery were restricted to where it existed, it would wither and die.

At the dedication of Freedmen's Monument in Washington in 1876—a sculpture depicting a slave on his knees looking up in gratitude into the benevolent face of the Great Emancipator—Frederick Douglass stunned an audience including President Ulysses S. Grant by calling Lincoln "the white man's President, entirely devoted to the welfare of white men." "Viewed from the genuine abolition ground," Frederick Douglass went on, "Mr. Lincoln seemed tardy, cold, dull, and indifferent; but measuring him by the sentiment of his country . . . he was swift, zealous, radical, and determined." A not unfair assessment.

Did slavery cause the war? In 1927, historians Charles and Mary Beard produced their famous and first in-depth study of American history, *The Rise of American Civilization*. It captivated scholars and laymen alike. After carefully examining the facts concerning slavery and the Civil War, they concluded:

> Since, therefore, the abolition of slavery never appeared in the platform of any great political party, since the only appeal ever made to the electorate on that issue was scornfully repulsed, since the spokesman of the Republicans [Lincoln] emphatically declared that his party never intended to interfere with slavery in the states in any shape or form, it seems reasonable to assume that the institution of slavery was not the fundamental issue during the epoch preceding the bombardment of Fort Sumter.

To those who yet contend that Lincoln and the Union went to war "to make men free," how do they respond to the fact that when the war began, with the firing on Fort Sumter, there were more slave states *inside* the Union (eight) than in the Confederacy (seven)? Four Southern states, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, had remained loyal. They did not wish to secede; they did so only after Lincoln put out a call for 75,000 volunteers for an army to invade and subjugate the Deep South. That army would have to pass through the Upper South, which would have to join a war against its kinfolk. This the Upper South would not do. It was Lincoln's call to war against the already seceded states of the Deep South that caused Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas to leave a Union in which they had hoped to remain. Jeffrey Hummel notes in *Emancipating Slaves, Enslaving Free Men* (1996):

> Previously unwilling to secede over the issue of slavery, these four states [Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas] were now ready to fight for the ideal of a voluntary Union. Out in the western territory . . . the sedentary Indian tribes—Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles—also joined the rebellion. . . . Lincoln [by calling up the militia] had more than doubled the Confederacy's white population and material resources.

Before Fort Sumter, the Confederacy sent emissaries to Washington to discuss a compromise. Lincoln refused to meet with them, lest a presidential meeting confer legitimacy on a secession he refused to recognize. Against the advice of army chief General Winfield Scott, Secretary of State William H. Seward, Secretary of War Simon Cameron, and Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, all of whom advocated evacuating Fort Sumter, he sent the *Star of the Sea* to resupply the fort. Viewing this as a provocation, the Southerners fired on the fort, and the American flag, and the great war was on.

And Southerners were perhaps not mistaken in their belief that Lincoln had provoked the conflict. As the President wrote with quiet satisfaction to Assistant Secretary of the Navy Gustavus Fox, commander of the expedition to Fort Sumter, on May 1, 1861:

> You and I both anticipated that the cause of the country would be advanced by making the attempt to provision Fort-Sumpter [sic], even if it should fail; and it is no small consolation now to feel that our anticipation is justified by the result.

Like Polk before him, and Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt after him, Lincoln had maneuvered his enemy into firing the first shot.

Did the South Have a Right to Secede?

In the modern era, one reads more and more that the great Southern leaders were "traitors." Robert E. Lee, Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, and Jefferson Davis, all heroes of the Mexican War, however, were no more and no less traitors than Washington, Adams, and Jefferson were traitors to Great Britain. At West Point, which George E. Pickett, Stonewall Jackson, and Joe Johnston attended, the constitutional law book that all three Confederate generals had studied, *A View of the Constitution of the United States* by William Rawle—a Philadelphia abolitionist and Supreme Court Justice—taught that states had a right to secede: "To deny this right would be inconsistent with the principle on which all our political systems are founded, which is, that the people have in all cases, a right to determine how they will be governed."

Union officers had studied Rawle as well. Indeed, the idea of state supremacy, of states' rights to nullify federal law, and of a right to secede if the issue were truly grave, had a long, distinguished history in America. In the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and 1799, Jefferson and Madison, authors respectively of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution—enraged at the jailing of editors under the Alien and Sedition Acts—argued that states had a right to nullify patently unconstitutional federal law.

Between 1800 and 1815, three serious attempts were made by New England Federalists to secede—at the time of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, Jefferson's Embargo Act of 1807, and Madison's War of 1812. The secessionist leader was a Revolutionary War hero and a member of Washington's Cabinet, Massachusetts Senator Timothy Pickering. The Federalist causes mirrored South Carolina's causes: what they saw as an intolerable regime, interference with trade, incompatibility with alien peoples (Germans and Scotch-Irish), and a conviction the Union was being run for the benefit of the South. Said

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Pickering in 1803: "I will rather anticipate a new confederacy, exempt from the corrupt and corrupting influence and oppression of the aristocratic Democrats of the South."

By a twist of fate, Jefferson's rival, Alexander Hamilton, who had made Jefferson President in 1801 by persuading his allies to abandon Aaron Burr in the House of Representatives in the tie election of 1800, probably saved the Union. Federalists had conspired with Burr in 1804 to support him for governor, if Burr would lead New York into a New England Confederacy. But the revilement of Burr by Hamilton, as venal, corrupt, dictatorial, and dangerous, persuaded New Yorkers, by 7,000 votes, to reject him. Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel and killed him. Revulsion at the death of the patriot-statesman aborted the Federalists' plot.

In anticipation of John C. Calhoun's nullification, Massachusetts' legislature in 1807 denounced Jefferson's embargo, demanded that Congress repeal it, and declared the Enforcement Act "not legally binding." Many merchants ignored the law; and the New England authorities looked the other way. At the Hartford Convention of 1814, New Englanders, enraged by Madison's war with England when the Mother Country was in a death struggle against the dictator Napoleon, and by the interruption of their trade, threatened to secede and reassociate with Great Britain.

In 1832 South Carolina "nullified" a tariff law it believed was bleeding the South to death and asserted a right to secede. In 1843, when Tyler was driving for annexation of Texas, a vast territory that might be broken into five states, tilting the political balance of power in favor of the slave states, John Quincy Adams thundered that the annexation of Texas would justify Northern secession. And, in 1848, a freshman congressman critic of the Mexican War spoke of the inherent right of states to secede:

> Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the *right* to rise up, and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable,—a most sacred right—a right, which we hope and believe, is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government, may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people, that *can*, *may* revolutionize, and make their own, of so much of the territory as they inhabit. . . . It is a quality of revolutions not to go by *old* lines, or *old* laws; but to break up both, and make new ones.

These are the words of Abraham Lincoln, January 12, 1848.

Why Did the South Secede?

If Lincoln did not threaten slavery, why, then, did the Deep South secede? Answer: by 1861, America had become two nations and two peoples. The South had evolved into a separate civilization and wished to be a separate country. While moderates like Lee wanted to remain in the Union, Southern militants had concluded that, with the election of Lincoln, the North had won the great struggle for control of the national destiny.

The South had given the Union most of her Presidents, her Supreme Court Justices, her Speakers of the House. But, the South would never again determine the nation's direction. This first Republican president had not received a single electoral vote in a Southern state; in ten Southern states he had not received a *single* vote. Lincoln owed the South nothing; but he owed everything to her enemies, to the admirers of John Brown, to the Northern industrialists who had Lincoln's commitment to a protective tariff that the South believed threatened its ruin.

After decades of a troubled unhappy marriage, for the Deep South Lincoln's election was the final blow. They had decided, irrevocably, on divorce. Thus, six weeks after Lincoln's election, December 20, 1860, South Carolina seceded. By February 1, a month before Lincoln's Inauguration, South Carolina had been followed out of the Union by Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. In these states, federal forts, post offices, customs houses, and military posts had been occupied. Federal employees and troops had been sent packing. Yet, by the day of Lincoln's Inauguration, four months after his election, there was no war. Why not?

Because President James Buchanan did not believe the federal government had the right to use military force to compel states to remain within the Union. If the Union was not voluntary, it was not a true Union. To our 15th President, coercion was unconstitutional. As Professor Woodrow Wilson wrote in *Division and Reunion*, Buchanan "believed and declared that secession was illegal; but he agreed with his Attorney General that there was no constitutional means or warrant for coercing a State to do her duty under the law. Such, indeed, for the time, seemed to be the general opinion of the country." Most Northern newspapers agreed.

As early as November 13, 1860, the *Daily Union* in Bangor, Maine, defended the South's right to secede, asserting that a true Union "depends for its continuance on the free consent and will of the sovereign people" of each state. "[W]hen that consent and will is withdrawn on either part, their Union is gone." If military force is used, then a state can only be held "as a subject province," and can never be a "co-equal member of the American Union."

Horace Greeley wrote in the *New York Daily Tribune*, December 17, 1860, "the great principle embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration is that governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed." If the Southern states wished to depart, "they have a clear right to do so." And, if tyrannical government justified the Revolution of 1776, "we do not see why it would not justify the secession of Five Million of Southrons from the Federal Union in 1861."

Many Northerners and Abolitionists were delighted to see the Deep South states gone. Abolitionist editor William Lloyd Garrison had spoken for many when he wrote that the original Constitution, protecting slavery, had been a "covenant with Death" and an "agreement with Hell." In April 1861, Greeley wrote that "nine out of ten of the people of the North were opposed" to using force to return South Carolina to the Union. General Scott, hero of the Mexican War and Commander of the U.S. Army, said of the "wayward sisters . . . let them go in peace." Ironically, the "wayward sisters" were like fugitive slaves. They were trying to break free of Father Abraham's house, but he would not let them go.

Absent Abraham Lincoln, there might have been no war. But, without Lincoln, there might also be no United States today. Unlike Buchanan, the new President would accept war, raise an army of a million men, and fight the bloodiest struggle ever on the American continent, rather than let the South go.

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The Confederate firing on Fort Sumter may have been the spark that ignited the conflagration, but the real cause of the war was the iron will of Abraham Lincoln, as resolute a Unionist as was Andrew Jackson, who also would have accepted war rather than let South Carolina secede. Thus, as the Mexican War had been "Jimmy Polk's War," this was "Mr. Lincoln's War."

To win it, the President would assume dictatorial power, suspend the constitutional right of *habeas corpus*, overthrow elected state legislatures, arrest and hold without trial thousands of political prisoners, shut down opposition newspapers, and order army after army into the South to give his nation a new "birth of freedom," and a new baptism of blood and fire.

When mobs rioted against the draft in July 1863, looting and pillaging New York City, lynching blacks they saw as threats to their jobs and the cause of the war, Lincoln ordered units detached from Meade's army. When the veterans of Little Round Top and Cemetery Ridge entered the city, a witness described the action:

> streets were swept again and again by grape [shot], houses were stormed at the point of a bayonet, rioters were picked off by sharpshooters as they fired on the troops from housetops; men were hurled, dying or dead, into the streets by the thoroughly enraged soldiery; until at last, sullen and cowed and thoroughly whipped and beaten, the miserable wretches gave way at every point and confessed the power of the law.

Estimates of the dead ranged from 300 to 1,000.

Lincoln meant to enforce the draft law. There are no reports of commissions established to investigate the "root causes" of "urban disorder." Though he has come down to us as a kind and courtly homespun, backwoods humorist, there is truth in the depiction of Lincoln in Gore Vidal's novel, where the President is seen through the eyes of a marveling Secretary of State:

> For the first time, Seward understood the nature of Lincoln's political genius. He had been able to make himself absolute dictator without ever letting anyone suspect that he was anything more than a joking, timid backwoods lawyer . . .

No tougher, more resolute man ever occupied the White House. As the historians Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager have written, Abraham Lincoln was

> a dictator from the standpoint of American constitutional law and practice; and even the safety of the Republic cannot justify certain acts committed under his authority. . . . A loyal mayor of Baltimore, suspected of Southern sympathies, was arrested and confined in a fortress for over a year; a Maryland judge who had charged a grand jury to inquire into illegal acts of government officials was set upon by soldiers . . . beaten and dragged bleeding from his bench, and imprisoned . . .

To this Lincoln pled military necessity, the imperative of preserving the Union: "Are all the laws but one to go unexecuted, and the government itself go to pieces, lest that one be violated?" To those who denounced him as a tyrant for ignoring due process in crushing sedition, Lincoln made no apology: "Must I shoot a simple-minded boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of the wily agitator who induces him to desert?"

The First Emancipation Proclamation

That preserving the Union, not ending slavery, was Lincoln's agenda is evident from the first year of the war. In the summer of 1861 General John C. Frémont, Republican candidate for President in 1856, was in command in Missouri. In a daring move, Frémont drew a line across the state, separating the pro-Confederacy region from the Union side, and issued an order: any civilian caught carrying a weapon north of the line would be shot. Any man aiding the secessionist cause was to have all his slaves instantly emancipated.

An instant national hero to Abolitionists and Freesoilers in the United States and Great Britain, the general sent his order to the President for approval. But Lincoln, desperate to keep pro-slavery Kentucky in the Union, told Frémont to withdraw it. Frémont refused, insisting he would not comply unless Lincoln issued a direct order. Lincoln issued the order.

The general's wife, impulsive and high-strung Jessie Benton Frémont, daughter of the great Missourian Thomas Hart Benton, who had married the dashing Lieutenant Frémont when she was 16, undertook a journey to Washington, carrying a written plea from her husband. When she arrived in the capital, exhausted after days of day-and-night travel in a dirty coach over rough roads, she sent a brief note to the White House—where she had played as a girl in the days of Andrew Jackson—to set up an appointment to deliver the letter. A response came back that very night: "Now, at once, A. Lincoln."

When Lincoln received her in the Red Room, Jessie Frémont lectured the President on the difficulty of conquering the South with arms alone. She urged Lincoln to appeal to the British nation and the world by declaring emancipation to be the Union's cause.

"You are quite a female politician," an irritated Lincoln responded.

Mrs. Frémont walked out of the White House and wrote in her diary:

> I explained that the general wished so much to have his attention to the letter sent, that I had brought it to make sure it would reach him. He [Lincoln] answered, not to that, but to the subject his own mind was upon, that "It was a war for a great national idea, the Union, and that General Frémont should not have dragged the negro into it . . . "

Jessie Frémont had clearly upset Lincoln. When a confidante of the President saw the general's wife the next day, he was irate. "Look what you have done for Frémont; you have made the President his enemy!"

The *Chicago Tribune* denounced Lincoln for reversing General Frémont's emancipation proclamation. Lincoln's action takes away the penalty for rebellion, charged the *Tribune* on September 16. "How many times," asked James Russell Lowell, "are we to save Kentucky and lose our self-respect?" In Connecticut, indignation had risen to fury. Senator Ben Wade of Ohio wrote "in bitter execration": "The President don't object to Genl Frémont's taking the life of the owners of slaves, when found in rebellion, but to confiscate their property and emancipate their slaves he thinks monstrous."

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But Lincoln's policy was not emancipation. It was to return the South to the Union, even if it meant appeasing the South on slavery. As Lincoln wrote Greeley in his famous letter of August 22, 1862, "My paramount object in this struggle *is* to save the Union, and is *not* either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave I would do it."

Lincoln, however, had already settled on his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, and had so informed his Cabinet.

Did Tariffs Cause the War?

In *For Good and Evil: The Impact of Taxes Upon the Course of Civilization*, historian Charles Adams refers back to John C. Calhoun's 1832 warning about the great sectional division Calhoun had seen on the horizon:

> Federal import tax laws were, in Calhoun's view, class legislation against the South. Heavy taxation on the South raised funds that were spent in the North. This was unfair. Calhoun argued further that high import taxes forced Southerners to pay either excessive prices for Northern goods or excessive taxes. Competition from Europe was crushed, thereby giving Northerners a monopoly over Southern markets. Federal taxation had the economic effect of shifting wealth from the South to the North—not unlike what the OPEC nations have been doing to the oil-consuming nations since 1973.

After Lincoln's election, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas did not wait to see how he would govern. All seceded before his inauguration. They knew what lay ahead. For, even before Lincoln took his oath in early March, the first of the Morrill tariffs had been passed and signed by Buchanan, raising tariff rates to levels not seen in decades.

Consider the situation of the South: as the South purchased two-thirds of the nation's imports, and tariffs were the prime source of tax revenue, the South was already carrying a hugely disproportionate share of the federal tax load. By raising tariffs, Congress, in Southern eyes, was looting the South. Southern imports would cost more, while the rising tariff revenue would be sent north to be spent by Republicans who reviled the South. The South's alternative: buy Northern manufactures instead of British. Either way, more of the South's wealth was headed north.

Dixie was unwilling to sit by and watch Lincoln's customs officers haul their fattening satchels of duty revenue out of Southern ports, up to Washington, to be spent somewhere else, by a President who had not won a single Southern electoral vote. As the historian Adams writes,

> The Morrill Tariff . . . was the highest tariff in U.S. history. It doubled the rates of the 1857 tariff to about 47 percent of the value of the imported products. This was Lincoln's big victory. His supporters were jubilant. He had fulfilled his campaign and IOUs to the Northern industrialists. By this act he had closed the door for any reconciliation with the South. In his inaugural address he had also committed himself to collect customs in the South even if there were a secession. With slavery, he was conciliatory; with the import taxes he was threatening. Fort Sumter was at the entrance to the Charleston Harbor, filled with federal troops to support U.S. Customs officers. It wasn't too difficult for angry South Carolinians to fire the first shot.

Believing herself an exploited region in a country where the newly empowered Republicans despised her, Dixie decided to leave. But there was a powerful reason the industrialized North could not let her go. The free-trade Confederacy had written into its Constitution a permanent prohibition against all protective tariffs: "nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry."

To Northern manufacturers a free-trade South spelled ruin. Imports would be diverted from Baltimore, New York, and Boston where they faced the Morrill Tariff to Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans where they would enter duty-free. Western states would use tariff-free Southern ports to bring in goods from Europe. So would many Northerners. On the very eve of war, March 18, 1861, the *Boston Transcript* wrote:

> If the Southern Confederation is allowed to carry out a policy by which only a nominal duty is laid upon imports, no doubt the business of the chief Northern cities will be seriously injured thereby.
>
> The difference is so great between the tariff of the Union and that of the Confederated States, that the entire Northwest must find it to their advantage to purchase their imported goods at New Orleans rather than New York. In addition to this, the manufacturing interest of the country will suffer from the increased importations resulting from low duties. . . . The . . . [government] would be false to all its obligations, if this state of things were not provided against.

Adams describes the political and economic crisis the North would have confronted, living side-by-side with a free-trade Confederacy:

> This would compel the North to set up a chain of customs stations and border patrols from the Atlantic Ocean to the Missouri River, and then some. Northerners would clamor to buy duty-free goods from the South. This would spell disaster for Northern industrialists. Secession offered the South not only freedom from Northern tax bondage but also an opportunity to turn from the oppressed into the oppressor. The Yankees were going to squirm now!

Nor was Lincoln unaware of the dread prospect. In his First Inaugural Address, where he had been a portrait in compromise on slavery, promising "no bloodshed or violence" against seceding states, he had made an exception:

> The power confided to me, will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property, and places belonging to the government, and *to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion*—no using of force against, or among the people anywhere. [Emphasis added.]

Message to the Confederacy from Abraham Lincoln: you

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may keep your slaves, but you cannot keep your duty-free ports! British intellectuals like John Stuart Mill blithely declared, "Slavery the one cause of the Civil War." But, as Adams writes, others in Britain put the cause elsewhere:

> In the British House of Commons in 1862, William Forster said he believed it was generally recognized that slavery was the cause of the U.S. Civil War. He was answered from the House with cries, "No, no!" and "The tariff!" It is quite probable the British commercial interests, which dominated the House of Commons, were more in tune with the economics of the Civil War than were the intellectuals and writers.

The tariff was "a prime cause of the civil war," writes historian John Steele Gordon, author of *Hamilton's Blessing*.

But, while tariffs were a cause of sectional rancor and division, and one of the reasons for secession, Lincoln never discussed the tariff in depth after his speech in Pittsburgh before the inauguration. Henry Carey, the great protectionist, never forgave Lincoln, whom he had supported to the hilt, for the omission. And given Lincoln's devotion to the Union—the cause to which he subordinated all others—it would seem that, for him as for Andrew Jackson, the tariff was not the end, but the means to the end: a greater, more glorious Union. Murray Rothbard was not too far off when he wrote that Abraham Lincoln "made a god out of the Union."

The South's Fatal Dependency

Though the abolition of slavery was not why Lincoln went to war, slavery and the South's dependence on trade for the necessities of national life were the South's undoing in that war. Slavery had kept the South in mercantilist bondage. Eighty years after Yorktown, the South was still shipping raw materials to Britain for manufactured goods. Had slavery been abolished, the Deep South would have been forced off her dependence on cotton, tobacco, and rice. Given her natural resources, the capacities of her people, black and white, the South would have developed alongside the North and West. Instead, it was in the North where 90 percent of the manufacturing was done, where warships were built, cannons were forged, locomotives were constructed, and most of the railways laid. From the war's outset, the position of the South to the North was like that of the colonies to Great Britain in the Revolution.

With its fleets, the North quickly imposed a naval blockade, and sliced the Confederacy in two at the Mississippi. Dependent on trade, the South saw her cotton and tobacco rot in warehouses, and her trade dry up. The South's slaves, unlike Northern immigrant labor, could not be used to produce weapons of war. Slavery and the agrarian character of the South tied them to the land. There may be truth in what Henry Carey wrote: "Had the policy advocated by Mr. Clay, as embodied in the tariff of 1842, been maintained, there could have been no secession, and for the reason, that the southern mineral region would long since have obtained control of the planting one." Without slavery, the South's statesmen would not have been forced to use their brilliance defending an institution the South's greatest men—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Lee—knew could not be reconciled with the ideals in which they believed.

Southerners were bound to a system they inherited at birth. Because that system depended on three-and-a-half million slaves, the South had to submit to abuse from moral posturers from the North who ignored the exploitation of immigrant labor and could not care less about the plight of slaves. Eventually the South had to leave a Union their fathers helped create, and fight to their defeat and ruin in an independence struggle made almost impossible of victory because they had relied so long on the land and neglected the "work bench" Jefferson and Randolph had so detested.

One cannot read the story of that four-year struggle without coming away with boundless admiration for the bravery of Southern soldiers, the perseverance of her people, the brilliance of her generals. From Bull Run to Antietam, Gettysburg to Appomattox, the men in gray wrote a chapter in glory that will bring tears to men's eyes as long as they have hearts.

And Mr. Lincoln? Unquestionably, the war changed the man. The President-elect who arrived in Washington anxious to appease Southern slave-owners, that ambivalent man of whom Richard Hofstadter wrote that his mind on the Negro was a "house divided against itself," seemed, by the war's end, to have become a remorseless Abolitionist. At Gettysburg, whether he had intended it or not, Lincoln had succeeded for all time in "ennobling" the Northern cause and immortalizing himself. In those brief, haunting, and memorable words, Lincoln had proclaimed that the war, all along, had been about the equality of man.

Antietam, the Battle of the Wilderness, the March to the Sea, had hardened Lincoln. Unlike the conciliatory rhetoric of his First Inaugural, his second rings like the final warning of impending judgment from an Old Testament prophet. In that Second Inaugural, the armies of Sherman and Grant have become instruments of God's will. This Inaugural could have been delivered by John Brown:

> Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether."

The war had not been about slavery when it began. But, by its end, Abraham Lincoln had declared it to be so. And, so it was. And the terrible and tragic manner of his death affirmed it forever.

Was the Cause Just?

Was the great war a just war?

For the South, the issue comes down to a single question: Did the South have the right to secede from the Union? For, if the South had a right to secede—as the colonies had a moral and legal right to break away from the British Empire—then the South had the right to fight for that independence, and to resist a Union invasion and forcible return at the point of Union bayonets.

On that first question, the South in 1861 had at least as strong a case for secession as the Federalists of the Hartford Convention, or ex-President John Quincy Adams, who threat-

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ened President John Tyler with secession if Texas were admitted to the Union. By the Jeffersonian test, that, to be legitimate, a government must rest upon the consent of the governed, the Confederacy had legitimacy by the time of Fort Sumter. What the Union took back in 1865 was not free men and free states, but defeated rebels and conquered provinces.

In 1861 it had been an open question whether a state had a right to secede. The question was submitted to the arbitrament of the sword and settled only at Appomattox. But, of all the wars America ever fought, "vital interests" were at risk in the Civil War. Had South Carolina, Georgia, and the Gulf states broken away, British and French would have moved in to exploit the Southern free-trade zone to undermine Northern industries, and wean the West away from the Union. Indeed, during the war, Napoleon III installed a puppet regime in Mexico in violation of the Monroe Doctrine, and the British were moving troops into Canada. The first secession would not have been the last. Fragmentation of the nation was at hand. As a private in the 70th Ohio wrote home in 1863:

> Admit the right of the seceding states to break up the Union at pleasure . . . and how long will it be before the new confederacies created by the first disruption shall be resolved into still smaller fragments and the continent become a vast theater of civil war, military license, anarchy and despotism. Better settle it at whatever cost and settle it forever.

With the Deep South gone, the United States would have lost a fourth of its territory, its window on the Caribbean and the Gulf, its border with Mexico, and its port of New Orleans—the outlet to the sea for the goods of Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, and the Middle West. The South would have begun to compete for the allegiance of New Mexico and Arizona; indeed, rebellions arose in both areas and had to be put down by Union troops.

To Lincoln, secession meant an amputation of his country that would have destroyed its élan and morale. Disunion was intolerable. Where Jackson said it directly, "Disunion is Treason," and "preservation of the Union . . . the highest law," Lincoln used his rhetorical powers to elevate the cause to one of universal values. But his goal was the same as Jackson's.

Lincoln was the indispensable man who saved the Union. He accepted war and may have provoked war to restore that Union. In the end, that war freed the slaves. "At last after the smoke of the battlefield had cleared away the horrid shape which had cast its shadow over the whole continent had vanished and was gone for ever," wrote England's John Bright. But was war necessary to free the slaves, when every other nation in the hemisphere, save Haiti, freed its slaves peacefully, without the "total war" Lincoln's generals like Sherman and Sheridan unleashed on the South? To Lincoln, then, belongs the credit of all the good the war did, and full responsibility for all the war cost.

While the men of government had one set of reasons for going to war, the men who marched into the guns had another: patriotism, love of country. They fought, as Macaulay said, for the reasons that men always fight, "for the ashes of their fathers and the temples of their gods."

We are fighting against "traitors who sought to tear down and break into fragments the glorious temple that our fathers reared with blood and tears," a Michigan private wrote to his younger brother. A month before he fell at Gettysburg, a Minnesota boy wrote home that he was willing to give his life "for the purpose of crushing this g--d--- rebellion and to support the best government on God's footstool."

In the war's last days, a Union soldier captured a wounded rebel and was astonished by the man's ferocity. "Why do you keep fighting like this?" he demanded. "Because you're here!" the dying rebel replied. -c

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The Conquerors

by Harold McCurdy

We're gobbling up the planet, we Americans,
gobbling it up and turning it into
automobiles, computers, nuclear devices
and all manner of effluvia deadly to mountain lions,
to alligators, to salamanders, to spotted owls, to people,
and wondering why it is that family values
are disappearing in spite of the passionate rhetoric
of divorced senators and adulterous presidents.

Our assembly lines have conquered most of the earth.
When China and India at last catch up with
our USA standard of living and billions of gas-guzzlers
roar across their vast landscapes, eliminating
the quaint villages, the colorful bazaars, the green rice-paddies,
we shall, with a sense of mission accomplished, depart,
leaving to them what is left while we speed off
to gobble up and mechanize the rest of the galaxy.

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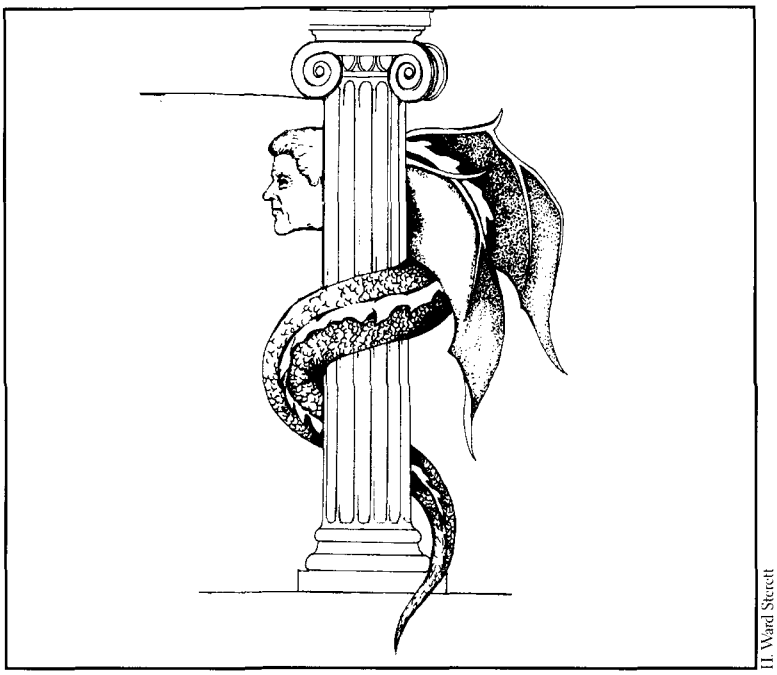
Caesar's Column

by Samuel Francis



H. Ward Sterett

If anything could make the modern presidency look good, it is the modern Congress. Intended by the Framers, through a misinterpretation of the British constitution, to offer a check to the executive branch, the federal legislature has in fact evolved into merely its partner and more often its lackey. The President now openly intervenes in congressional elections to ensure the return of those lawmakers most subservient to him, and as soon as congressmen take office, they begin to learn how to manipulate the administrative state within the executive branch to glue themselves to their seats. Because of the federal leviathan itself, the services a congressional office can today perform for its constituents (and often for nonconstituents) extends far beyond getting them passports and appointing their daughters to the military academies. Jobs in government, federal contracts and subsidies, welfare of all kinds, and expert guidance through the leviathan's tortuous web of wish-granting genies permit congressmen to build up bank accounts of political favors among voters within their districts and real bank accounts from political donations for future campaign expenses. It is probable that most of what modern legislators spend their time on today is practicing the arts of massaging, twisting, and squeezing the executive bureaucracy for their own personal political interests, and if the congressman himself does not do it, every office contains aides whose jobs consist of little but managing "constituent services," the exploitation of the executive branch for the benefit of voters. It is precisely because of the emergence of these arts that Newt Gingrich was able to say some years ago that there was less turnover in the membership of Congress than there was in that of the Soviet Politburo, and short of gross incompetence or personal scandal, there is no reason why any congressman who has learned how to pinch the udders of the executive cow properly should ever get kicked off his stool.

In the modern American political system, then, the legislative branch no longer checks and balances the executive branch and in fact has become largely an extension of it. This in part explains why the "Republican Revolution" has been such a flop. After nearly four years of the "revolution," Mr. Gingrich and his minions of the Grand Old Party have spectacularly failed to abolish a single government agency, terminate a single government program, or reverse a single judicial decision. One of the great triumphs of the "revolution" was to enact a law requiring that Congress must be bound by the laws it imposes on other citizens, so that today congressional staffers must pay Social Security and their bosses must observe OSHA and affirmative action regulations. In passing the new law the Republicans entirely missed the point. The purpose of drumming the fact that congressional offices were not bound by many of the laws and programs they had passed was to get rid of the laws and programs, not to make sure that more people were burdened by them. By requiring their own offices to abide by OSHA rules and affirmative action regulations, the congressmen merely passed whatever burdens such rules impose on to the citizens and taxpayers for whom the congressmen are supposed to work.

The second great victory of the Republican Revolution was the adoption of the line-item veto, a favorite gewgaw of Beltway policy-wonks that supposedly allows the President to eliminate "pork barrel" from congressional legislation. Whether it will or not remains to be seen, but one certain result of the measure will be to enhance the power of the presidency over Congress even further, giving the chief executive in essence a license to blackmail dissident lawmakers by threatening to cut out measures necessary to their political survival. When the Republicans finally enacted the line-item veto, after decades of ballyhoo about it from the Beltway right, no one seemed to understand why President Clinton himself was so gleeful about

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obtaining the new power his supposed adversaries had just handed him.

But the failure of the "Republican Revolution" is due only in part to the apparently genetic mental inferiority of Republicans and results at least as much from the institutional subservience of Congress to the presidency and its bureaucracy. Nevertheless, if Congress has been absorbed within the digestive tract of the executive behemoth and has long ceased to perform the constitutional function it was designed to have, Congress itself is not entirely at fault, or at least not more so than other institutions, public or private, which have allowed the behemoth to escape the cage where republican political structures originally confined it. The truth is that the executive power, in the form of the presidency and the bureaucratic class it leads, has been the major force pushing the political revolution of the 20th century, the conversion of the Old Republic into the New Managerial Empire, and while both Congress and courts, states and private institutions, have allowed the revolution to take place, it was the executive branch and its occupants who initiated the revolution and drove it to its completion. In doing so they also completed the century's social and cultural revolution, of which the political aspect was only a part.

Indeed, throughout Western history, the expansion of executive power has commonly been associated with the destruction of an old ruling class and its order and the enthronement of new classes and orders, and the redistribution of power has almost always been billed as a process of progress or liberation. Sometimes progress and liberation actually ensued, at least as they are understood afterwards, but it is also a process by which one group gains power at the expense of other groups. Whether progress and liberation ever mean anything more than this is a separate question.

Thus, tyranny in ancient Greece was an enlargement of executive power that was commonly associated with the weakening (sometimes the obliteration) of aristocratic classes and the empowerment of the poor, and the same pattern is evident in the political struggles in Rome at the end of its republic. From the Gracchi to Caesar, the goal of the "popular party" was to get its hands on executive power—in the consulate, the tribunate, or the dictatorship—because only from that position was it possible to resist and overcome the oligarchical power of the Senate and its nobility. Julius Caesar's victory resulted in changes in the composition of the Senate that were supposed to create a new ruling class centered around him, but the appointments he made merely contributed to the hatred the nobility felt for him and to his eventual murder by its disgruntled partisans. His successors as emperor were usually more cautious in avoiding offenses to the old ruling class, or at least in exposing their bodies to their enemies, but it is no accident that the enlargement of executive power in their hands and the extinction of the Roman nobility took place in tandem. Much the same pattern occurred in Tudor England, with the rise of a middle class, composed of landed gentry and merchants, that wedded itself to the Tudor monarchy and its vast confiscation of land and wealth in the Reformation.

The reason for the repetition of this pattern in history, whereby an old ruling class is challenged by an emerging one which allies with and makes use of executive power as a spearhead of its revolution, ought to be clear. By its very nature, the old ruling class tends to monopolize offices and institutions, and emerging rivals are usually unable to gain enough influence within the old institutions and offices to achieve their ends. The emerging class therefore invents new institutions and offices that it can control and use to challenge the old elite, and, especially when the situation requires conflict and coercion, executive institutions and the charismatic leadership of a single man are well suited to achieve these goals.

American history also exhibits this pattern, but it occurs mainly in this century and not, as many Old Right and Southern conservatives believe, in the Civil War. Indeed, a close look at Abraham Lincoln reveals not an American Caesar or an Illinois Bonaparte but a ill-prepared man who has a strong claim to being the most incompetent President in American history. Of the 15 Presidents who preceded Lincoln in the White House, all had served important apprenticeships as senators, governors, diplomats, secretaries of state, or generals. Lincoln brought no such experience to the office; he served in the militia during the Black Hawk War but saw no action; he served only one term as a congressman and four as a state legislator. Nominated as the candidate of a new splinter party that was widely regarded as eccentric if not extremist, he was elected to the White House as a fluke, because of the split within the Democratic Party, with less than 40 percent of the popular vote. A man of Lincoln's political stature and following becoming President in 1860 is comparable to someone like Ralph Nader being elected today, except that Mr. Nader displays far more political sophistication than the Sage of Springfield ever possessed.

By the time Lincoln was inaugurated in March 1861, seven Southern states had seceded and the Confederate government had been formed. Lincoln betrayed no indication of what he planned to do about this crisis of the Union, and it is likely that he lacked even the foggiest notion of what could be done or how to do it. He merely regurgitated the commonplaces of his misinformed view of the Constitution, appeared indifferent to Southern efforts to resolve the crisis, and ignored the advice of most of his own cabinet members to evacuate Fort Sumter. After having blundered into the most disastrous war of American history, Lincoln lacked both the military knowledge and the political skill to resolve it quickly, and his entire administration is a chapter of his own constitutional illiteracy and political ineptitude. As David Donald has written,

> The President had remarkably little connection with the legislation passed during the Civil War. He proposed few specific laws to Congress. . . . He exerted little influence in securing the adoption of bills that were introduced. In some of the most significant legislation enacted during his administration Lincoln showed little interest. . . . Less than any other important American President did Lincoln use his veto power. . . . [He] was also ineffectual in controlling the executive departments of the government. . . . During his first months as President, Lincoln did not schedule regular Cabinet meetings at all. . . . Though some of the most important financial legislation in American history was adopted during the Civil War years, Lincoln had little interest in [these laws]. . . . Even in the conduct of foreign relations the President himself played a minor role.

It is true that Lincoln did expand the war powers of the presidency (his arguments for them show both logical and factual incomprehension of the Constitution), and it is true that he (or

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rather the Northern military victory) "saved the Union"—though he never seemed to grasp that a union "saved" by military conquest and devastation of more than half of it is no longer a union but an empire.

Lincoln wounded the Old Republic, but he failed to kill it, as he failed in just about everything else that he touched. After him, the republic remained intact, though committed to a path of plutocracy and imperialism, and outside the mythography in which the enemies of the Old Republic invested the incomparable mediocrity of Father Abraham, the honor of the *coup de grace* belongs not to their patron saint but to those who made use of his myth in the following century.

To be sure, there was incremental enlargement of the presidency under the first Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, and Herbert Hoover, as Commerce Secretary and as President himself, did more for the office than most Republicans know or admit, but the chief architect of the modern presidency of the managerial state was Franklin Roosevelt, and it was under him that the wounded Old Republic was finally dispatched to glory and a new class and a new order inaugurated that remains intact today.

Roosevelt's construction of the imperial presidency through his secret and criminal diplomacy is now generally well known, as is his bludgeoning the Supreme Court and his centralization of regulatory power in the executive branch. Yet his movement toward executive supremacy went well beyond whatever measures he claimed were necessary to deal with whatever "emergency" in the economy or around the planet he was able to discover or invent. In 1937, acting on the advice of the Brownlow Commission, Roosevelt sought to perpetuate his presidential power through legislation. As eventually enacted, the law did not create what he had wanted—essentially centralized control of all government agencies under the White House as well as a clearinghouse planning agency that would have given virtually total control of the federal state to the President and his aides—but it did establish the Executive Office of the President and six special assistants on which future aggrandizement could be built.

In fact, Roosevelt's own Caesarist political style rendered institutional regularization of presidential power unnecessary. Not only did he ignore routine channels of administrative decision-making but he also was the first President to appeal directly to the mass population, a clear emulation of the European autocrats of the era. As his admiring historian William Leuchtenberg wrote of him, "Roosevelt dominated the front pages of the newspapers as no other President before or since has done." He developed the presidential press conference as "a device the President manipulated, disarmingly and adroitly, to win support for his programs. It served too as a classroom to instruct the country in the new economics and new politics," and he "was the first President to master the technique of reaching people directly over the radio."

> For the first time for many Americans, the federal government became an institution that was directly experienced. More than state and local governments, it came to be the government, an agency directly concerned with their welfare. It was the source of their relief payments; it taxed them directly for old age pensions; it even gave their children hot lunches in school.
>
> Franklin Roosevelt personified the state as protector. It became commonplace to say that people felt toward the President the kind of trust they would normally express for a warm and understanding father who comforted them in their grief or safeguarded them from harm.

This warm and toasty paternalism was paralleled, of course, by periodic denunciations of "economic royalists," "special interests," and other invective directed against his critics and political opponents and by thinly veiled insinuations of legal prosecution of those who persisted in opposition (with the plan to prosecute the *Chicago Tribune* for espionage after the outbreak of World War II, it became more than insinuation). The double role played by FDR—on the one hand, as protective father of the people; on the other, as the implacable foe of the oppressors—is an old one, played by all tyrants who seek the destruction of an old ruling class and the construction of a new one.

The new class, of course, was the emerging managerial elite, which sought in the presidency in particular and the federal leviathan in general an instrument that would fuse the economy and the state and allow for centralized economic, social, and political planning without the constraints of markets, localism, institutional cultural barriers, political opposition, or indeed national boundaries. The globalism of Roosevelt's foreign policy corresponded closely to the global reach of the managerial corporations that soon allied with him against their smaller entrepreneurial competitors and to the global ambitions of the new professional warlords that soon emerged in the military, diplomatic, and intelligence agencies of the leviathan.

Cordell Hull's personal crusade for free trade was an essential component of the revolution in the state that Roosevelt launched. Hull, the author of the income tax amendment, used his position as Secretary of State under Roosevelt to push a revolution in trade policy, rationalized mainly by his unexamined faith that free trade would bring world peace and that wars are caused by trade barriers, a species of utopianism that fit well with the globalism of the administration and the corporate interests allied with it. As economist John Culbertson writes, Hull's "new program was not oriented to protecting the economic interests of the United States but to reforming the world—in a way that was more revolutionary, and more utopian, than Cordell Hull thought it to be." By removing tariff-making from congressional hands and placing it in the secret, anonymous Committee on Trade Agreements largely under State Department control, Hull's free trade dogmas helped transfer power over trade policy into the hands of the new emperor and the managerial class of what Alfred Eckes calls the "technicians," "specialists," and "academics" who composed the committee.

The presidential revolution in the federal government was completed by the construction of the apparatus for global management under the label of "national security," and the National Security Act finalized the transformation. The consolidation of the Armed Forces under the Department of Defense, the establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Policy Planning office in the State Department, and the National Security Council all completed the removal of the control of foreign and military policy from Congress and their transfer to the presidency. The creation of this apparatus by itself not only ensured that the global reach of the new managerial regime would be perpetuated but also that a large bureaucracy would acquire a vested interest in perpetu-

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ating it. The apparatus required continuous feeding by "trained specialists" in the new science of "national security," and the G.I. Bill made certain that the personnel the apparatus demanded would be available and that universities themselves would be reconstructed to meet the needs of the new class.

For all the lachrymose quacking of the Watergate era about the "imperial presidency" and all the quick-response scholarship of the Beltway right in the 1980's about the "imperial Congress," the managerial monarchy that Roosevelt built remains with us. The reaction against it under Richard Nixon was merely a partisan ploy, and the coinage of the phrase "Imperial Presidency" by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., was no less a piece of political propaganda than everything else he has ever written. The Old Right, whether libertarian or traditionalist, was the real enemy of the imperial presidency from its origins, and it is a tribute to the shallowness of the post-Reagan conservatives that no sooner was their own candidate the ostensible captain of the presidential flagship, and they and their buddies were let in on a share of the swag, than they promptly forgot every word that John T. Flynn, Robert Taft, Willmoore Kendall, Frank Meyer, James Burnham, and Russell Kirk had ever written or said in resistance to the new monarchy. By its very nature, Caesar's column crushes those who resist it and simply swallows those who support it, and republican politics becomes merely a gladiatorial duel among those who seek to command the state.

Because the managerial monarchy has emasculated serious congressional resistance, it is doubtful that Congress can accomplish much to dismantle or check the executive branch regardless of who runs either one. Tip O'Neill's law that all politics is local needs to be amended today, when all politics is really presidential. But of course the presidency, like the state itself, is merely an instrument for the perpetuation of the power of the elite that stands behind the state. As Burnham understood, Caesar "is a myth and symbol as well as a person and a fact." "Politically he is more creature than creator, and behind his back rise the serried ranks of the managerial bureaucracy." It is that bureaucracy and its allies in the managerial economy and dominant culture, and not the presidency or the state itself, that is the real enemy of Middle Americans and the fragmented Old Republican legacy they sustain, and it is against that enemy that their own political efforts need to be directed. To dismantle the imperial presidency and send Caesar's legions home to their farms would merely be to knock the weapon from the hands of the foe, but it would not necessarily mean the destruction of the foe himself. To accomplish that ultimate end, yet another new elite must displace the one that has used the presidency to put itself in power, and it is likely that any new elite that does so will forge its own spearhead of revolution from the same weapon of presidential power. c

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A House Wren

by Harold McCurdy

Green, green, are all the trees, and a house wren trills,
Trills, warbles, chortles, close to my front door;
A little rustic birdbox invites him to build
A nest there too, and prove what singing's for.

Grateful I am for green, and for the light
Conversation of leaves, and for a wren
The size of a man's thumb, rarely in sight,
Who dares to haunt about the houses of men.

Brief brown appearances on hurrying wing
Reveal an atom too small for such loud song,
Rich, full, and passionate. So would I sing
Were I as tensely strung, and brown, and strong.

I need him near my door to sing for me
The wonder of existence better than I
Who, after eighty-eight years of trying to be
Useful and just, just manage to scrape by.

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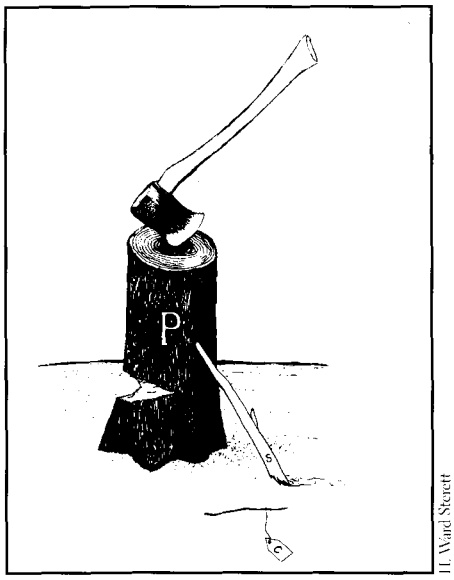
Down With the Presidency

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.



The presidency must be destroyed. It is the primary evil we face, and the cause of nearly all our woes. It squanders the national wealth and starts unjust wars against foreign peoples that have never done us any harm. It wrecks our families, tramples on our rights, invades our communities, and spies on our bank accounts. It skews the culture toward decadence and trash. It tells lie after lie. Teachers used to tell schoolkids that anyone can be President. This is like saying anyone can go to hell. It is not an inspiration; it is a threat.

The presidency—by which I mean the executive state—is the sum total of American tyranny. The other branches of government, including the presidentially appointed Supreme Court, are mere adjuncts. The presidency insists on complete devotion and humble submission to its dictates, even while it steals the products of our labor and drives us into economic ruin. It centralizes all power unto itself, and crowds out all competing centers of power in society, including the church, the family, the business, the charity, and the community.

I will go further. The United States presidency is the world's leading evil. It is the chief mischief-maker in every part of the globe, the leading wrecker of nations, the usurer behind Third World debt, the bailer-out of corrupt governments, the hand in many dictatorial gloves, the sponsor and sustainer of the New World Order, of wars, interstate and civil, of famine and disease. To see the evils caused by the presidency, look no further than Iraq, where the lives of innocents were snuffed out in a pointless war, where bombing was designed to cause disease, and where women, children, and the aged have been denied essential food and medicine because of a cruel embargo. Look at the human toll taken by the presidency, from Dresden and Hiroshima to Waco and Ruby Ridge, and you see a prime practitioner of murder by government.

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Today, the President is called the leader of the world's only superpower, the "world's indispensable nation," which is reason enough to have him deposed. A world with any superpower at all is a world where no freedoms are safe. But by invoking this title, the presidency attempts to keep our attention focused on foreign affairs. It is a diversionary tactic designed to keep us from noticing the oppressive rule it imposes right here in the United States.

As the presidency assumes ever more power unto itself, it becomes less and less accountable and more and more tyrannical. These days, when we say "the federal government," what we really mean is the presidency. When we say "national priorities," we really mean what the presidency wants. When we say "national culture," we mean what the presidency funds and imposes.

The presidency is presumed to be the embodiment of Rousseau's general will, with far more power than any monarch or head of state in premodern societies. The United States presidency is the apex of the world's biggest and most powerful government and of the most expansive empire in world history. As such, the presidency represents the opposite of freedom. It is what stands between us and our goal of restoring our ancient rights.

And let me be clear: I am not talking about any particular inhabitant of the White House. I am talking about the institution itself, and the millions of unelected, unaccountable bureaucrats who are its acolytes. Look through the United States government manual, which breaks down the federal establishment into its three branches. What you actually see is the presidential trunk, its Supreme Court stick, and its Congressional twig. Practically everything we think of as federal—save the Library of Congress—operates under the aegis of the executive.

This is why the governing elites—and especially the foreign policy elites—are so intent on maintaining public respect for the office, and why they seek to give it the aura of holiness. For example, after Watergate, they briefly panicked and worried that they had gone too far. They might have discredited the

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democratic autocracy. And to some extent they did. But the elites were not stupid: they were careful to insist that the Watergate controversy was not about the presidency as such, but only about Nixon the man. That is why it became necessary to separate the two. How? By keeping the focus on Nixon, making a devil out of him, and reveling in the details of his personal life, his difficulties with his mother, his supposed pathologies, etc.

Of course, this did not entirely work. Americans took from Watergate the lesson that Presidents will lie to you. This should be the first lesson of any civics course, of course, and the first rule of thumb in understanding the affairs of government. But notice that after Nixon died, he too was elevated to godlike status. None other than Bill Clinton served as high priest of the cult of President-worship on that occasion. He did everything but sacrifice a white bull at the temple of the White House.

The presidency recovered most of its sacramental character during the Reagan years. How wonderful, for the sake of our liberties, that Clinton has revived the great American tradition of scorning tyrants. In some ways, he is the best President a freedom-lover can hope for, more well-known for his private parts than his public policies. Of course, someday, Clinton too will ascend to the clouds, and enter the pantheon of the great leaders of the free world.

The libraries are filled with shelf after shelf of treatises on the American presidency. Save yourself some time, and do not bother with them. Virtually all tell the same hagiographic story. Whether written by liberals or conservatives, they serve up the identical Whiggish pap: the history of the presidency is the story of a great and glorious institution. It was opposed early on, and viciously so, by the Antifederalists, and later, even more viciously, by Southern Confederates. But it has been heroically championed by every respectable person since the beginning of the Republic.

The office of the presidency, the conventional wisdom continues, has changed not at all in substance, but has grown in stature, responsibility, and importance, to fulfill its unique mission on earth. As the duties of the office have grown, so has the greatness of the men who inhabit it. Each stands on the shoulders of his forerunners, and, inspired by their vision and decisiveness, goes on to make his own contribution to the ever-expanding magisterium of presidential laws, executive orders, and national security findings.

When there is a low-ebb in the accumulation of power, it is seen as the fault of the individual and not the office. Thus the so-called postage-stamp Presidents between Lincoln and Wilson are to be faulted for not following the glorious example set by Abe. They had a vast reservoir of power, but were mysteriously reluctant to use it. Fortunately that situation was resolved, by Wilson especially, and we moved onward and upward into the light of the present day. And every one of these books ends with the same conclusion: the United States presidency has served us well.

The hagiographers do admit one failing of the American presidency. It is almost too big an office for one man, and too much a burden to bear. The American people have come to expect too much from the President. We are unrealistic to think that one man can do it all. But that is all the more reason to respect and worship the man who agrees to take it on, and why all enlightened people must cut him some slack.

The analogy that comes to mind is the official history of the Popes. In its infancy, the papacy was less formal, but its power and position were never in question. As the years went on and doctrine developed, so too did the burdens of office. Each Pope inherited the wisdom of his forbears, and led the Church into fulfilling its mission more effectively. But let us be clear about this. The Church has never claimed that the papacy was the product of human effort; its spiritual character is a consequence of a divine, not human, act. And even the official history admits the struggles with anti-Popes and Borgia Popes (and someday Vatican II Popes).

Catholics believe the institution was founded by Christ, and is guided by the Holy Spirit, but the Pope can only invoke that guidance in the most narrow and rare circumstances. Otherwise, he is all too fallible. And that is why, although allegedly an absolute monarch, he is actually bound by the rule of law.

The presidency is seemingly bound by law, but in practice it can do just about anything it pleases. It can order up troops anywhere in the world, just as Clinton bragged in his acceptance speech at the Democratic convention. It can plow up a religious community in Texas and bury its members because they got on somebody's nerves at the Justice Department. It can tap our phones, read our mail, watch our bank accounts, and tell us what we can and cannot eat, drink, and smoke.

The presidency can break up businesses, shut down airlines, void drilling leases, bribe foreign heads of state or arrest them and try them in kangaroo courts, engage in germ warfare, firebomb crops in Columbia, overthrow any government anywhere, erect tariffs, round up and discredit any public or private assembly it chooses, grab our guns, tax our incomes and our inheritances, steal our land, centrally plan the national and world economy, and impose embargoes on anything anytime. No prince or Pope ever had this ability.

But leave all that aside and consider this nightmare. The presidency has the power to bring about a nuclear holocaust with the push of a button. On his own initiative, the President can destroy the human race. One man can wipe out life on earth. Talk about playing God. This is a grotesque evil. And the White House claims it is not a tyranny? If the power to destroy the entire world is not tyrannical, I do not know what is. Why do we put up with this? Why do we allow it? Why is this power not immediately stripped from him?

What prevents fundamental challenge to this monstrous power is precisely the quasi-religious trappings of the presidency, which we again had to suffer through last January. One man who saw the religious significance of the presidency, and denounced it in 1973, was—surprisingly enough—Michael Novak. His study, *Choosing Our King: Powerful Symbols in Presidential Politics*, is one of the few dissenting books on the subject. It was reissued last year as—not surprisingly—*Choosing Our Presidents: Symbols of Political Leadership*, with a new introduction repudiating the best parts of the book.

Of course, none of the conventional bilge accords with reality. The United States President is the worst outgrowth of a badly flawed Constitution, imposed in a sort of coup against the Articles of Confederation. Even from the beginning, the presidency was accorded too much power. Indeed, an honest history would have to admit that the presidency has always been an instrument of oppression, from the Whiskey Rebellion to the War on Tobacco.

The presidency has systematically stolen the liberty won through the secession from Britain. From Jackson and Lincoln to McKinley and Roosevelt Junior, from Wilson and FDR to

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Truman and Kennedy, from Nixon and Reagan to Bush and Clinton, it has been the means by which our rights to liberty, property, and self-government have been suppressed. I can count on one hand the actions of Presidents that actually favored the true American cause, meaning liberty. The overwhelming history of the presidency is a tale of overthrown rights and liberties, and the erection of despotism in their stead.

Each President has tended to be worse than the last, especially in this century. And lately, in terms of the powers they assumed and the dictates they imposed, Kennedy was worse than Eisenhower, Johnson was worse than Kennedy, Nixon was worse than Johnson, Carter was worse than Nixon, and Reagan—who doubled the national budget and permanently entrenched the warfare state—was worse than Carter. The same is true of Bush and Clinton. Every budget is bigger and the powers exercised more egregious. Each new brutal action breaks another taboo, and establishes a new precedent that gives the next occupant of the White House more leeway.

Looking back through American history, we can see the few exceptions to this rule. Washington made an eloquent Farewell Address, laying out the proper American trade and foreign policy. Jefferson's Revolution of 1800 was a great thing. But was it really a freer country after his term than before? That is a tough case to make. Andrew Jackson abolished the central bank, but his real legacy was democratic centralism and weakened states' rights.

Andrew Johnson loosened the military dictatorship fastened on the South after it was conquered. But it is not hard to make the country freer when it had become totalitarian under the previous President's rule. Of course, Lincoln's bloody autocracy survives as the model of presidential leadership. James Buchanan made a great statement on behalf of the right of revolution. Grant restored the gold standard. Harding denounced American imperialism in Haiti. But overall, my favorite President is William Henry Harrison. He keeled over shortly after his inauguration.

There have been four huge surveys taken of historians' views on the Presidents: in 1948, 1962, 1970, and 1983. Historians were asked to rank Presidents as Great, Near Great, Average, Below Average, and Failure. In every case, number one is Lincoln, the real father of the present nation. His term was a model of every despot's dream: spending money without congressional approval, declaring martial law, arbitrarily arresting thousands and holding them without trial, suppressing free speech and the free press, handing out lucrative war contracts to his cronies, raising taxes, inflating the currency, and killing hundreds of thousands for the crime of desiring self-government. These are just the sort of actions historians love.

The runner-up in these competitions is FDR, and Wilson and Jackson are always in the top five. The bottom two in every case are Grant and Harding. None bothered to rate William Henry Harrison.

What does greatness in the presidency mean? It means waging war, crushing liberties, imposing socialism, issuing dictates, browbeating and ignoring Congress, appointing despotic judges, expanding the domestic and global empire, and generally trying his best to be an all-round enemy of freedom. It means saying with Lincoln, that "I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy."

The key to winning the respect of historians is to do these things. All aspirants to this vile office know this. It is what they seek. They long for crisis and power, to be bullies in the pulpit, to be the dictators they are in their hearts. They want, at all costs, to avoid the fate of being another "postage-stamp President." Madison said no man with power deserves to be trusted. Neither should we trust any man who seeks the power that the presidency offers.

Accordingly, it is all well and good that conservatives have worked to discredit the current occupant of the White House. Call him a philander, a cheat, and a double dealer if you want. Call him a tyrant, too. But we must go further. The answer to restoring republican freedom has nothing to do with replacing Clinton with Lott or Kemp or Forbes or even Buchanan. The structure of the presidency, and the religious aura that surrounds it, must be destroyed. The man is merely a passing occupant of the Holy Chair of St. Abraham. It is the chair itself that must be reduced to kindling.

It was never the intention of the majority of Framers to create the mess we have, of course. After the War for Independence, the Articles of Confederation had no Chief Executive. Its decisions were made by a five-member Confederation. The Confederation had no power to tax. All its decisions required the agreement of nine of the 13 states. That is the way it should be.

Most of the delegates to the unfortunate Philadelphia convention hated executive power. They had severely restricted the governors of their states, after their bitter experience with the colonial governors. The new governors had no veto, and no power over the legislatures. Forrest McDonald reports that one quarter of the delegates to the convention wanted a plural executive, based loosely on the Articles model. But those who planned the convention—including Morris, Washington, and Hamilton—wanted a single, strong executive, and they outmaneuvered the various strains of Antifederalists.

But listen to how they did it. The people of the several states and their representatives were suspicious that Hamilton wanted to create a monarchy. Now, there is much mythology surrounding this point. It is not that the Antifederalists and the popular will opposed some guy strutting around in a crown. It was not monarchy as such they opposed, but the power the king exercised. When they said they did not want a monarch, they meant they did not want a King George, they did not want a tyrant, a despot, an autocrat, an executive. It was the *despotic end* they feared, not the royal means.

Indeed, formally, the Constitution gives few powers to the President, and few duties, most of them subject to approval by the legislature. The most important provision regarding the presidency is that the holder of the office can be impeached. It was to be a threat constantly hanging over his head. It was, most Framers thought, to be threatened often and used against any President who dared gather more power unto himself than the Constitution prescribed.

In one famous outburst, Hamilton was forced to defend himself against the charge that the new office of the presidency was a monarchy in disguise. He explained the difference between a monarch and a President. But as you read this, think about the present executive. Ask yourself whether he resembles the thing Hamilton claimed to have created in the office of the presidency, or whether we have the tyrant he claimed to be repudiating. Among other points, Hamilton said in *Federalist* 69:

> The President of the United States would be liable to be impeached, tried, and, upon conviction . . . removed

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from office; and would afterwards be liable to prosecution and punishment in the ordinary course of law. The person of the king of Great Britain is sacred and inviolable; there is no constitutional tribunal to which he is amenable; no punishment to which he can be subjected. . . .

The President will have only the occasional command of such part of the militia of the nation as by legislative provision may be called into the actual service of the Union. . . . [The power] of the British king extends to the declaring of war and to the raising and regulating of fleets and armies—all which, by the Constitution under consideration, would appertain to the legislature. . . .

The President is to have power, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur. The King of Great Britain is the sole and absolute representative of the nation in all foreign transactions. He can of his own accord make treaties of peace, commerce, alliance, and of every other description. . . .

The President is to nominate and, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint ambassadors and other public ministers. . . . The king of Great Britain is emphatically and truly styled the fountain of honor. He not only appoints to all offices, but can create offices. He can confer titles of nobility at pleasure . . . and . . . [even] make denizens of aliens.

[The President] can prescribe no rules concerning the commerce or currency of the nation; [the king] is in several respects the arbiter of commerce, and in this capacity can establish markets and fairs, can regulate weights and measures, can lay embargoes for a limited time, can coin money. . . . What answer shall we give to those who would persuade us that things so unlike resemble each other?

Well, we can debate whether Hamilton was naive about the imperial office he was in fact creating or whether he was a despicable liar. But the fact remains that in his writings, despite his reputation as a backer of the exalted presidency, he is by today's standards a congressional supremacist. For that matter, and in comparison with today's presidency, so was the British king.

Most historians agree that there would have been no presidency apart from George Washington, who was trusted by the people as a true gentleman, and was presumed to understand what the American Revolution was all about. But he got off track by attempting to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion, although he at least acknowledged that his actions went beyond the strict letter of the Constitution. But though the presidency quickly spun out of control, at its antebellum worst it had nothing in common with today's executive state.

In those days, you could live your life and never even notice that the presidency existed. You had no contact with it. Most people could not vote anyway, thank goodness, and you did not have to, but certain rights and freedoms were guaranteed regardless of whoever took hold of this—by today's standards—largely ceremonial position. The presidency could not tax you, draft you, or regulate your trade. It could not inflate your money, steal your kids, or impose itself on your community. From the standpoint of the average American, the presidency was almost invisible.

Listen to what Tocqueville observed in 1831: "The President is . . . the executor of the laws; but he does not really co-operate in making them, since the refusal of his assent does not prevent their passage. He is not, therefore, a part of the sovereign power, but only its agent. . . . The President is placed beside the legislature like an inferior and dependent power." The office of President of the United States is "temporary, limited, and subordinate. . . . [W]hen he is at the head of government he has but little power, little wealth, and little glory to share among his friends; and his influence in the state is too small for the success or the ruin of a faction to depend upon his elevation to power. . . . The influence which the President exercises on public business is no doubt feeble and indirect."

Thirty years later, Lincoln destroyed all this, fundamentally changing the nature of the government, as even his apologists admit. He became a Caesar, in complete contradiction to most of the Framers' intentions. As Acton said, he abolished the primary contribution that America had made to the world, the principle of federalism. But that is an old story.

Less well known is how Wilson revived Lincoln's dictatorial predilections, and added to them an even more millennial cast. Moreover, this was his intention before he was elected. In 1908, while still president of Princeton, he wrote a small book entitled *The President of the United States*. It was a paean to the imperial presidency, and might as well be the bible of every President who followed him. He went beyond Lincoln, who praised the exercise of power. Wilson longed for a presidential messiah to deliver the human race.

"There can be no successful government," Wilson begins, "without leadership or without the intimate, almost instinctive, coordination of the organs of life and action. . . . We have grown more and more from generation to generation to look to the President as the unifying force in our complex system. . . . To do so is not inconsistent with the actual provisions of the Constitution; it is only inconsistent with a very mechanical theory of its meaning and intention." The President must be a "man who understands his own day and the needs of the country, and who has the personality and the initiative to enforce his views both upon the people and upon Congress. . . . He is not so much part of its organization as its vital link of connection with the thinking nation . . . he is also the political leader of the nation. . . . The nation as a whole has chosen him. . . . Let him once win the admiration and confidence of the country, and no other single force can withstand him, no combination of forces will easily overpower him. His position takes the imagination of the country. He is the representative of no constituency, but of the whole people. . . . the country never feels the zest of action so much as when its President is of such insight and caliber. Its instinct is for unified action, and it craves a single leader."

"The President is at liberty," Wilson continues, "both in law and conscience, to be as big a man as he can. His capacity will set the limit . . . he is the only spokesman of the whole people. [Finally, Presidents should regard] themselves as less and less executive officers and more and more directors of affairs and leaders of the nation,—men of counsel and of the sort of action that makes for enlightenment."

This is not a theory of the presidency. It is the hope for a new messiah. That indeed is what the presidency has come to. But any man who accepts this view is not a free man. He is not a man who understands what constitutes civilized life. The man who accepts what Wilson calls for is an apostle of the total state and a defender of collectivism and despotism.

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Conservatives used to understand this. In the last century, all the great political philosophers—men like John Randolph and John Taylor and John C. Calhoun—did. In this century, the right was born in reaction to the imperial presidency. Men like Albert Jay Nock, Garet Garrett, John T. Flynn, and Felix Morley called the FDR presidency what it was: an American version of the dictatorships that arose in Russia and Germany, and a profound evil draining away the life of the nation.

They understood that FDR had brought both the Congress and the Supreme Court under his control, for purposes of power, national socialism, and war. He shredded what was left of the Constitution, and set the stage for all the consolidation that followed. Later Presidents were free to nationalize the public schools, administer the economy according to the dictates of crackpot Keynesian economists, tell us who we must and who we must not associate with, nationalize the police function, and run an egalitarian regime that extols nondiscrimination as the sole moral tenet, when it is clearly not a moral tenet at all. Later conservatives like James Burnham, Willmoore Kendall, and Robert Nisbet understood this point, too.

Yet whom do modern conservatives extol? Lincoln, Wilson, and FDR. Reagan spoke of them as gods and models, and so did Bush and Gingrich. In the 1980's, we were told that Congress was the imperial branch of government because Tip O'Neill had a few questions about Reagan's tax-and-spend military buildup, and his strategy for fostering global warfare while managing world affairs through the CIA. All this was bolstered by books by Harvey Mansfield, Terry Eastland, and dozens of other neoconservatives who pretended to provide some justification for presidential supremacy and its exercise of global rule. More recently even Pat Buchanan repeated the "Ask not . . ." admonition of John F. Kennedy, that we should live to serve the central government and its organizing principle, the presidency.

What the neoconservative logic comes down to is this. The United States has a moral responsibility to run the world. But the citizens are too stupid to understand this. That is why we cannot use democratic institutions like Congress in this ambition. We must use the executive power of the presidency. It must have total control over foreign affairs, and never bow to congressional carping.

Once this point is conceded, the game is over. The demands of a centralized and all-powerful presidency and its interventionist foreign policy are ideologically reinforcing. One needs the other. If the presidency is supreme in global affairs, it will be supreme in domestic affairs. If it is supreme at home, there will be no states' rights, no absolute property rights, no true liberty from government oppression. The continued centralization of government in the presidency represents the end of America and its civilization.

A key part of the theory of presidential supremacy in foreign affairs is the idea that politics stops at the water's edge. If you believe that, you have given up everything. It means that foreign affairs will continue to be the last refuge of an omnipotent scoundrel. If a President can count on the fact that he won't be criticized so long as he is running a war, he will run more of them. So long as he is running wars, government at home cannot be cut. As Felix Morley said, "Politics can stop at the water's edge only when policies stop at the water's edge."

Sadly, Congress, for the most part, cares nothing about foreign policy. In that, it reflects the attitude of the American voter. The exception is the handful of congressmen who do speak about foreign issues, usually at the behest of the State Department, the CIA, the Pentagon, and the increasingly global FBI. Such men are mere adjuncts of presidential power.

In fact, it is the obligation of every patriot not only to denounce a President's actions at home but to question, harass, and seek to rein in the presidency when it has sent troops abroad. That is when the watchful eye of the citizenry is most important. If we hold our tongues under some mistaken notion of patriotism, we surrender what remains of our freedoms. Yet during the Gulf War, even those who had courageously opposed this intervention in advance mouthed the old clichés about politics and the water's edge and "supporting our troops" when the presidency started massacring Iraqis. Will the same happen when the troops are sent to China, a country without a single aircraft carrier, in retaliation for some trumped-up incident in the tradition of the *Maine*, the *Lusitania*, Pearl Harbor, and the Gulf of Tonkin?

If there is ever a time to get behind a President, it is when he withdraws from the world, stops wars, and brings the troops home. If there is ever a time to trip him up, question his leadership, and denounce his usurpations, it is when he does the opposite. A bipartisan foreign policy is a Napoleonic foreign policy, and the opposite of that prescribed by Washington in his Farewell Address.

In the midst of America's war against Britain in 1812, John Randolph wrote an open letter to his Virginia constituents, pleading with them not to support the war, and promising them he would not, for he knew where war led—to presidential dictatorship: "If you and your posterity are to become hewers of wood and drawers of water to the modern Pharaoh, it shall not be for the want of my best exertions to rescue you from cruel and abject bondage."

Sixty years ago all conservatives would have agreed with him. But the neoconservative onslaught has purged conservatives of their instinctive suspicions of presidential power, and by the time 1994 had come around, conservatives had been thoroughly indoctrinated in the theory that Congress was out of control and that the executive branch needed more power. The leadership of the 104th Congress—dominated to a man by neoconservatives and presidential supremacists—bamboozled the freshmen into pushing for three executive-enhancing measures.

In one of Congress's first actions, it made itself subject to the oppressive civil rights and labor laws that the executive enforced against the rest of the nation. This was incredibly stupid. The Congress was exempted from these for a reason. It prevented the executive from using its own regulatory agencies to lord it over Congress. By making itself subject to these laws, Congress willingly submitted itself to implicit and explicit domination by the Department of Labor, the Department of Justice, and the EEOC. It imposed quotas and political correctness on itself, while any dissenters from the presidential line suddenly faced the threat of investigation and prosecution by those they were attempting to rein in.

The imposition of these laws against Congress is a clear violation of the separation of powers. But it would not be the last time that this Congress made this mistake. It also passed the line item veto, another violation of the separation of powers. The theory was that the President would strike out pork, pork being defined as property taken by taxation and redistributed to special interests. But since pork is the entirety of the federal government's $1.7 trillion budget, this has given the President

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wide latitude over Congress. It takes away from Congress the right to control the purse strings.

Also part of the Contract With America was term limits for Congress. This would represent a severe diminution of congressional power with respect to the presidency. After all, it would not mean term limits for the permanent bureaucracy or for federal judges, but only for the one branch the people can actually control. Thank goodness the self-interest of the politicians themselves prevented it from coming into being.

After that initial burst of energy, Congress surrendered everything to the Clinton White House: control of the budget, control of foreign affairs, and control of the Federal Reserve and the FBI. The Justice Department operates practically without oversight, as does the Treasury, HUD, Transportation, Commerce, the EPA, the SEC, the FTC, and the FDA.

Congress has given in on point after point, eventually even granting the presidency most of what it demanded in health-care reform, including mandated equal coverage of the mentally ill. Chalk it up to long-term planning. They came into office pledging to curb government, but are as infatuated with the presidency as Clinton himself. After all, they hope their party will regain the office.

Then the Republicans had the audacity to ask in bewilderment: Why did the President beat Dole? What did we do wrong? The real question is what have they done right? James Burnham said that the legislature is useless unless it is curbing the presidency. By that measure, this Congress has been worthless. It deserves to lose its majority. And its party deserves to lose the presidency, whose powers they are so anxious to grab for themselves.

The best moments in the 104th Congress were when a few freshmen talked quietly of impeachment. Indeed, it is their responsibility to talk loudly, openly, and constantly of impeachment. Today's presidency is by definition in violation of the Constitution. Talk of impeachment ought to become routine. So should ridicule and humiliation. For if we care about liberty, our plebiscitary dictatorship must be reined in or tossed out.

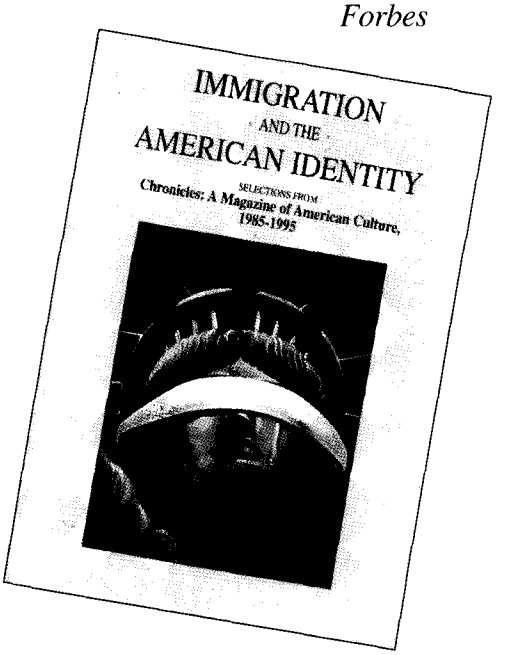
John Randolph had only been a senator for a few days when he gave an extraordinary speech denouncing John Quincy Adams. "It is my duty," said Randolph, "to leave nothing undone that I may lawfully do, to pull down this administration. . . . They who, from indifference, or with their eyes open, persist in hugging the traitor to their bosom, deserve to be insulted . . . deserve to be slaves, with no other music to soothe them but the clank of the chains which they have put on themselves and given to their offspring."

John Randolph said this in 1826. This was a time, writes Tocqueville, when the presidency was almost invisible. If we cannot say this and more today, when the presidency is dictator to the world, we are not authentic conservatives. Indeed, we are not free men. c

CONCERNING IMMIGRATION...

"The presence in this volume of California's Governor Pete Wilson, easily reelected since his essay 'Citizenship and Immigration' first appeared in *Chronicles*' November 1993 issue, is only one reason *Chronicles*' editors can fairly say: you read it here first."

—Peter Brimelow,
Forbes



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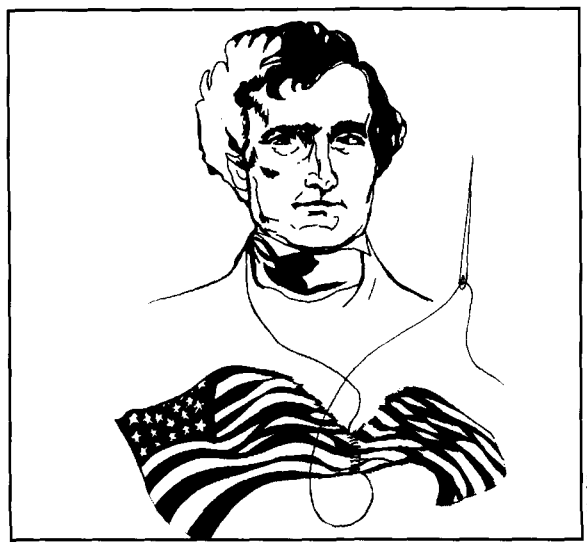
Franklin Pierce and the Fight for the Old Union

by H. Arthur Scott Trask



H. Ward Sterett

If Franklin Pierce is remembered at all today it is as an inept, do-nothing President whose only accomplishment was to sign the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. Historians generally cite this bill, along with the 1857 Supreme Court decision in the Dred Scott case, as evidence of the aggressive designs of the South to extend slavery throughout the Union. These historians characterize Pierce, as well as his successor James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, as ambitious and unprincipled Northerners who were willing to violate the Constitution and advance Southern interests in return for Southern political support for their presidential ambitions. The historians thus ascribe much of the blame for the sectional conflict to them. The real Franklin Pierce, however, is a figure far richer and more complicated than the historical caricature.

Pierce was one of the most consistent Jeffersonian republicans to occupy the White House in the early republic. He firmly believed that the federal government should be kept within the limits established by the Founders. Accordingly, he vetoed numerous internal improvement bills (what we would today describe as pork-barrel projects) on the grounds of their unconstitutionality and fiscal excess. He also believed strongly in the republican policy initiated by Jefferson and continued by his successors of "extending the area of freedom" by acquiring territory out of which new states could eventually be formed. Pierce tried to acquire Cuba, believing that it would enhance America's security by depriving any potentially hostile power of a stronghold close to her shores and by augmenting her agricultural and commercial prosperity by gaining land highly suitable for sugar, tobacco, and coffee plantations.

Pierce's designs on Cuba are cited as still more evidence that he was a pawn of the Southern slave interest, yet it needs to be remembered that scores of prominent Northerners advocated the annexation of Cuba on the grounds that it would benefit the *whole* Union. Pierce's administration was supported by the important but now almost forgotten "Young America" movement. This group was made up of young nationalists and libertarians who favored republicanism, free trade, hard money, and continental expansionism. Like Pierce, they had no sympathy for the Abolitionist and Free-Soil movements which they regarded as manifestations of a puritanical and selfish Northern spirit that both envied the prosperity of the Southern agricultural economy and resented the commanding influence of Southern statesmen in the Union, an influence that was classically liberal and opposed to the mercantilism and statism favored by Northern industrialists and intellectuals.

Pierce's decision to sign the Kansas-Nebraska Act can be defended on a number of grounds. First, a consensus had developed among honest constitutional scholars both North and South that the famous Missouri line established by Congress in 1820 prohibiting slavery in the Louisiana territory north and west of Missouri was unconstitutional, for it had deprived the citizens of half the states the right to migrate to the territories with their property, a clear violation of the constitutional requirement that all citizens be equal under the laws of the Union. In addition, by in effect dictating to the territories and future states of the Louisiana Purchase the kind of social institutions they could form, Congress had made those future states less equal, free, and sovereign than the states east of the Mississippi. By repealing the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas-Nebraska Act act overturned a precedent of 34 years standing, but to favor the original and proper understanding of the Constitution was pure Jeffersonianism. As a strict constructionist, Pierce had little choice but to sign the bill.

Second, Pierce believed that a failure to sign the bill would have been a sectional action in itself. The bill had created and opened for settlement two distinct territories—Kansas, made up of present day Kansas and eastern Colorado; and Nebraska, made up of present day Nebraska and the two Dakotas. It was the clearly understood, although unstated, intent of the act to satisfy both sections of the Union by creating for each a territory to which their citizens could migrate. Kansas, being directly

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to the west of the slave state of Missouri and of the same latitude as Kentucky and Virginia was considered to be a natural area for Southern settlement. Far from discriminating against Northerners or favoring the extension of slave territory over free, the act actually left the larger portion of the new territory (Nebraska) for Northern settlement. It was understood by all honest men at the time that the South had neither the ability nor desire to flood the vast and fertile Nebraska territory with Southerners. Because Pierce considered himself to be President of the whole Union, bound to govern equitably and justly in regard to all the states, he simply regarded it as his duty to sign an act designed to settle the vexing territorial question in a fair and constitutional manner. When conflict broke out in Kansas between free- and slave-state settlers, Pierce did not hesitate to blame the New England Emigrant Aid company for encouraging Yankee settlement in an area where it would not otherwise go. The company, with its wealthy Free-Soil and Abolitionist backers, was merely acting on the principle of the Wilmot Proviso, which stated that the Western territories were the exclusive possession of the North; the South had no right to an equal or fair share of the region. Missourians regarded this New England invasion of their western borderlands as not only a violation of the spirit of fair play but as a serious threat to their domestic peace and security. Already bordered on two sides by free states, Missourians did not want to become virtually surrounded on three sides. They realized that a Kansas populated by New England fanatics would be a hostile neighbor whose people would not only encourage and assist slaves to escape but might even try to foment servile insurrection within her borders. John Brown's raid into Virginia in 1859 is proof that their fears were justified.

Third, Pierce believed that the eventual admission of Kansas and Cuba as slave states would help restore the sectional balance in the Union, a balance which had been disturbed by the recent admission of California as a free state. Southerners had proposed after the Mexican War that the Missouri line be extended through the Mexican cession to the Pacific Ocean, thus dividing California into two states, one slave and one free. This fair and generous proposal had been rejected by the Northern Whigs and the Free-Soil Democrats who insisted that all the territory should be reserved for Northern settlement, even though Southerners had borne a disproportionate share of the fighting during the recent war. Pierce and many other Northern Democrats believed that even after the Compromise of 1850 had opened New Mexico and Utah territories to slavery, the South was still being deprived of a fair share of Western lands. Most people realized that because New Mexico and Utah were mostly desert, opening them up to slavery was an empty gesture. With all this in mind, Pierce believed that allowing Southerners to settle Kansas was simply a matter of restoring some justice and equity to the westward expansion of the Union (after all, the great bulk of northern Louisiana, as well as all of the Oregon territory, would remain an area of Northern settlement). As both political machinations and the accident of geography threatened to give the Northern states a preponderance of the Union, giving some additional security to the South was simply a matter of statesmanship.

Pierce had other reasons besides justice for hoping to preserve the sectional balance between the North and South. Like many Northern Jeffersonians, Pierce regarded the Southern states with their preference for free trade, local banking, strict construction of the Constitution, and a limited and frugal federal government as both the liberal *and* conservative bulwark of the Union. (The word "liberal" should be understood here as "classical" not modern liberalism, and the word "conservative" understood in the American sense as loyalty to the federal republican order of the Founders.) Pierce was sure that an unrestrained North with its preference for mercantilism, centralization, and statism would destroy the decentralized and liberal republic. That this was in fact to happen after 1865 is a clear vindication of Pierce's foresight. In addition, it is quite possible that had Pierce's policies been followed rather than rejected by the North, the Union could have been preserved without war. With their strength augmented by Kansas and Cuba, the Southern states might have felt secure enough to have waited out Lincoln's administration.

Pierce was not only a New Hampshire Yankee but a true patriot who loved his whole country—North and South. All his life he considered Southerners to be kinsmen and fellow countrymen, equal partners in the compact of the Union and worthy republicans whose devotion to liberty was second to none. Pierce's lifelong friendship with Nathaniel Hawthorne, a native of Salem, Massachusetts, is evidence of a vital non-Puritan tradition in New England. Both were Democrats when that party represented liberty under law, state rights, small government, and ancestral tradition. Hawthorne wrote Pierce's campaign biography when the latter became the Democratic candidate for President in 1852. Hawthorne remained loyal to Pierce all his life. During the Civil War, when anti-Southern passions were at their height, Hawthorne dedicated *Our Old Home* to the ex-President; it was an act both of considerable courage and of continuing identity with Pierce's comprehensive patriotism and old republican principles.

Due to the unpopularity of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in the North, the Democratic Party declined to renominate Pierce in 1856. For the historical profession, this marks not only the end of Pierce's public career but the end of Pierce, period. We hear nothing more of him. Yet Pierce continued to live, reflect, comment, and even speak out on public affairs for the remainder of his life. His thoughts and words are not only interesting in themselves but significant for revealing the continuing strength and vitality of the Jeffersonian tradition in the North.

Like most Northern Jeffersonians, Pierce preferred John C. Breckinridge over Stephen Douglas in the presidential election of 1860. Most historians continue to misdescribe Breckinridge as the Southern Democratic candidate. In truth, Breckinridge had the broadest appeal of any of the four presidential candidates in that year. Although his strength was in the Deep South, he had significant support in every region—the upper South, the Border States, the Middle States, even in New England.

When Lincoln was elected on an overtly sectional party platform, Pierce described it as a "distinct and unequivocal denial of the coequal rights" of the states. Pierce considered the Republican program to be such a clear violation of the constitutional compact that he conceded in a public letter that the Southern states were now justified in withdrawing from the Union. He took it for granted that the South would be within its right to do so. When the lower Southern states began to withdraw, he continued to hope for their return to the Union, but he insisted that threats of coercion would only drive out more states and make the separation permanent. He argued that if the Northern states wished to preserve the Union, then

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they ought to make significant political concessions and grant constitutional safeguards; as he pointed out, it was *they*, not the South, who were mostly to blame for the sectional conflict. When he heard of Lincoln's decision to reinforce and resupply Sumter he wrote: "I cannot conceive of a more idle, foolish, ill-advised, if not criminal thing." He considered this decision to be "the first act of war," certain to inaugurate hostilities along the whole length of the Mason-Dixon line. When Lincoln issued his proclamation for 75,000 troops in order to suppress "the insurrection" to the South, Pierce wrote the governor of Virginia that "to this war . . . which seems to me to contemplate subjugation I give no countenance—no support to any possible extent in any possible way. . . . Come what may the foul schemes of Northern Abolitionism, which we have resisted for so many years, are not to be consummated by arms on bloody fields, through any aid of mine."

Pierce's opinions of the war are important, for they are representative of a large portion of Northern Democratic and conservative Whig opinion. Keeping in mind that Pierce was far from alone in his opposition not only to Lincoln but to the war itself helps us to realize what has been forgotten in the national deification of Lincoln and his party: that their advent to power was as much a revolution in the North as it was to prove for the South, and that the war was seen by many Northerners not as the fulfillment of the American dream of liberty under law but as its betrayal and repudiation. Pierce speaks for those Northerners who preferred negotiation and compromise to armed coercion as the means of restoring the Union, who regarded Lincoln's systematic violation of law and civil liberties as wholly unjustified, who believed that while the South should not have withdrawn from the Union it did not do so without cause and provocation, who believed that Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was not only an unconstitutional act of executive usurpation but a gross violation of the most solemn pledges made to the Southern states before the war and to the Northern army during the war, and who saw in a Northern victory not a glorious consummation of freedom for all but the death of the republic.

Pierce's major speech on the war was given at a Democratic antiwar rally in Concord, New Hampshire, on July 4, 1863. Students of American history will note that at this same time a major battle was being fought on the fields of southeastern Pennsylvania. Other speakers that day included the famed orator and prominent Peace Democrat Daniel W. Voorhees of Indiana. Ex-President Pierce was chosen to preside and to speak at the meeting; it marked his first public oration since the spring of 1861. Opposition to the war in the north had been growing steadily since Lincoln had issued his Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation after the modest Northern victory at Antietam the previous fall. Although the Republican policies of eschewing compromise and negotiation and of crushing dissent in the Northern states had never been popular, Lincoln's proclamation had fundamentally changed the nature and the purpose of the war. Most Democrats in the North saw the objects of the war as no longer to preserve the Union but to free the slaves and to subjugate the South. In their eyes the latter goals necessarily negated the first, for a political union of conquered states and emancipated slaves was not the union of their fathers. Many soldiers, officers, and civilians felt betrayed, for these ends were not only unworthy in themselves but were not what they had been assured repeatedly they were fighting for.

The first half of 1863 witnessed antiwar and anti-Lincoln meetings and rallies all across the North—Indianapolis, Philadelphia, New York, and Concord, just to name a few. After the Confederate victory at Chancellorsville and Lee's subsequent invasion of Pennsylvania, opposition to the war and hopes for an immediate armistice reached a kind of critical mass. Such was the situation when the ex-President mounted the rostrum at Capital Square to address his fellow citizens of New Hampshire.

Pierce begins his address by contrasting the wisdom and "all-comprehensive patriotism" of the Founders of the republic with the fanaticism and "narrow and aggressive sectionalism" of the Republicans. According to Pierce, their "heroic forefathers . . . established the Union" on the basis of the "original sovereignty and independence of the several States, all with their diverse institutions, interests, opinions and habits, to be maintained intact and secure, by the reciprocal stipulations and mutual compromises of the Constitution." Unlike the Abolitionized Republicans, "no visionary enthusiasts were they, dreaming vainly of the impossible uniformity of some wild Utopia or their own imaginations. No desperate reformers were they, madly bent upon schemes which, if consummated, could only result in general confusion, anarchy, and chaos." On the contrary, they were "sagacious and practical statesmen . . . who saw society as a living fact, not as a troubled vision; who knew that national power consists in the reconcilement of diversities of institutions and interests, not their conflict and obliteration."

Pierce denounces the war and the Republican conduct of it in the strongest terms. Americans, he thunders, are "wasting their lives and resources in sanguinary civil strife," in a "suicidal and parricidal civil war [sweeping] like a raging tempest of death over the stricken homesteads and wailing cities of the Union." He especially condemns the tactics of the Northern armies, contrasting them with the more civilized warfare of the Revolution: "Then the war was conducted only against the foreign enemy, and not in the spirit and purpose of persecuting noncombatant populations, nor of burning undefended towns or private dwellings, and wasting the fields of the husbandmen, or the workshops of the artisan, but of subduing armed hosts in the field." In addition, America's leaders had been patriots: "Then the Congress of the United States was the great Council of the whole Union and of all its parts. Then the Executive Administration looked with an impartial eye over the whole domain of the Union, anxious to promote the interests and consult the honor and just pride of all the States, seeing no power beyond the law and devoutly obedient to the commands of the Constitution."

Pierce does not hesitate to blame Northern Abolitionists and their Republican allies for the evil days that have fallen on the country: "Do we not know that the cause of our calamities is the vicious intermeddling of too many of the citizens of the Northern states with the Constitutional rights of the southern States, co-operating with the discontents of the people of those States? Do we not know that the disregard of the Constitution, and of the security it affords to the rights of States and of individuals, has been the cause of the calamity which our country is called to undergo?"

Pierce next condemns in the strongest terms Lincoln's policy of closing down newspapers and arresting civilians critical of the administration's war policies: "Even here in the loyal States, the mailed hand of military usurpation strikes down the liber-

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ties of the people, and its foot tramples a desecrated Constitution [Applause]. Aye, in this land of free thought, free speech and free writing—in this Republic of free suffrage, with liberty of thought and expression as the very essence of republican institutions—even here, in these free States, it is made criminal for a citizen-soldier, like gallant Edgerly, of New Hampshire, to vote according to his conscience; or, like that noble martyr of free speech, [Clement] Vallandigham [Ohio congressman and prominent Peace Democrat] to discuss affairs in Ohio [Applause]; aye, even here, the temporary agents of the sovereign people, the transitory administrators of the Government, tell us that in time of war the mere arbitrary will of the President takes the place of the Constitution, and the President himself announces to us that it is treasonable to speak or to write otherwise than as he may prescribe."

For Pierce, what was at stake in the fearful contest was America's 80-year experiment in self-government under the rule of constitutional law. But it is important to note that he believed that the threat to this precious heritage did not come from the prospect of Southern secession but from Lincoln's exercise of "unconstitutional, arbitrary, [and] irresponsible power" in the prosecution of a war of subjugation and conquest: "Prosecuted upon the basis of the proclamations of Sept. 22nd and Sept. 24th, 1862 [preliminary emancipation edicts], prosecuted as I must understand those proclamations (to say nothing of the kindred blood which has flowed) upon the theory of emancipation, devastation, and subjugation, it [the war] cannot fail to be fruitless in everything except the harvest of woe which it is ripening for what was once the peerless Republic [Applause]."

Practically all Northerners, even those bitterly opposed to the war, hoped for a restoration of the Union. So did Pierce. But like most Democrats and conservative Whigs, he wanted a restoration only on the basis of the *old* Union, the Union of sovereign and independent States united in voluntary compact under a federal head of strictly limited powers. He understood that such could never be accomplished by sectional war. As a result, he argued that the people of the North should put down their arms and rely upon "moral power" to bring the Southern states back into the Union. Pierce makes it clear that he was fully in accord with the program of the Peace Democrats who were then advocating an immediate armistice and the calling of a national convention for the purpose of peacefully reconstructing the Union on the basis of an amended Constitution that secured the rights of the South: "My judgment impels me to rely upon moral force, and not upon any of the coercive instrumentalities of military power. . . . Through peaceful agencies, and through such agencies alone, can we hope 'to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity,' the great objects for which, *and for which alone*, the Constitution was formed." (Italics added.)

Here Pierce is speaking as a true Jeffersonian. He is not interested, as was Lincoln, in bringing about a "new birth of freedom" not intended by the Founders, but in *reclaiming* the hard-fought achievement of the Fathers—ordered liberty under law and constitutional self-government. For the hardheaded Jeffersonian republican, liberty is not an abstraction, nor is it something which is progressively realized through the evolution of history (which is the modern view), but it is a precious possession which must be fought for repeatedly. There are always those in every generation to whom government appears a too tempting agency for gratifying their own pride, ambition, and greed, and who care not that they must sacrifice the liberties of their fellow citizens in the pursuit of these things. It may be hard for Americans to understand this today, but Pierce was speaking for a substantial minority of his fellow New Englanders and an even larger minority of Northerners in general. He was speaking for those of his fellow citizens who were the most faithful to the revolutionary and colonial heritage; he was speaking for all those for whom liberty and law were more important than wealth and power. For Pierce and his fellow Democrats, America had not been "an unfinished revolution" but "the model Republic of the world." c

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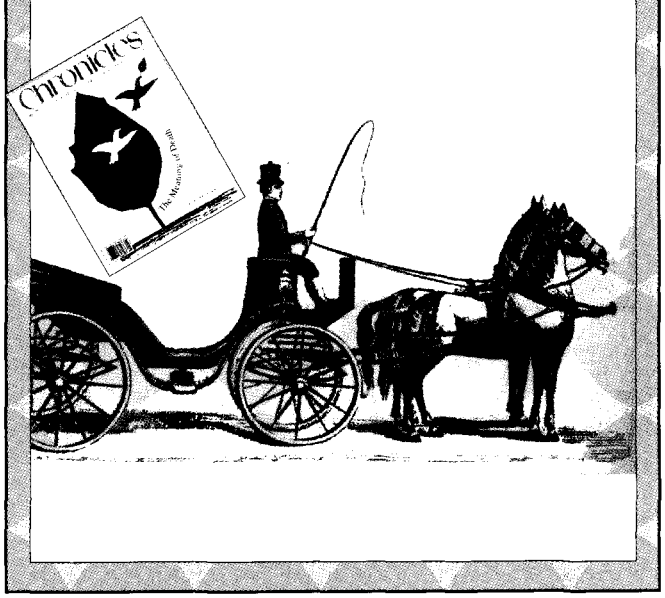

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The Future of the Jews

by Jacob Neusner

"A people still, whose common ties are gone;
who, mixed with every race, are lost in none."
—George Crabbe

Faith or Fear: How Jews Can Survive in a Christian America
by Elliott Abrams
New York: Free Press;
237 pp., $25.00

The Vanishing American Jew: In Search of Jewish Identity for the Next Century
by Alan M. Dershowitz
Boston: Little, Brown;
412 pp., $24.95

H. Ward Sterett

That Americans of different ethnic or religious origins intermarry surprises no one—half of Japanese-Americans, more than half of all Catholics, nearly three-quarters of Italian-Americans, 84 percent of Polish-Americans, and so on. But where others declare a religious catastrophe, Jews call down heaven and earth in prognostications of gloom, counting the years to the last Jew in the United States, who supposedly will die in 2076. These two books, taking up the hyped demographic question, ask theology to address a problem of sociology. Because of their remarkable confusion of categories neither works terribly well, but while one is measured and well-crafted, the other spurts streams of words onto paper in an interminable flow of impressions and opinions. Elliott Abrams advocates a reversion to Judaism as the final solution to the American Jewish problem; Alan M. Dershowitz demands the rejection of Judaism as a religion to solve that same problem. Expert in what he knows from personal research and eschewing what he does not, Abrams has written a thoroughly professional study. Dershowitz, a hobbyist and parvenu, sets forth an intellectually vulgar and self-celebratory exercise in amateurism.

Abrams' book is concise. The crisis that precipitates his reflections involves the decline of the proportion of Jews in the United States population (3.7 percent to 2 percent) and of Judaism among the Jews themselves ("one-third of all Americans of Jewish ancestry no longer report Judaism as their religion"). The majority of Jews married after 1985 wedded non-Jews, and only a quarter of the children of those marriages are being raised as Jews: thus the phenomenon Abrams describes as "the vanishing American Jew." Having surveyed the history of the Jews in the United States, and Roman Catholic, mainstream Protestant, Evangelical, and Jewish views of Christianity's views of the Jews and Judaism, he returns to the question of assimilation by intermarriage.

None of this has much bearing on the question that prompted the book in the first place, but it does set the stage for Abrams' advocacy of Judaism in his discussion of "the flight from Judaism." Not only do the vast majority of American Jews not practice Judaism in any form, they reject religion entirely. Polls show that while three-quarters of American blacks, 57 percent of white Catholics, and 47 percent of white Protestants declare religion to be important in their lives, scarcely a third of Jews do. And of this third, an indeterminate proportion have in mind ethnic identity when they speak of religion. A majority of Jews claiming strong ties to the Jewish community do not pay their dues. "Jewishness," meaning ethnic sentiment, replaces Judaism the religion in any form. Surrogates for religion ("civil religion") include philanthropy, activities in support of the state of Israel, liberal politics in the cloak of "prophetic Judaism," and memorialization of the holocaust: "In fact, 85% of American Jews say that the Holocaust is very important to their sense of being Jewish. Fewer Jews say that about God, the Torah, or any other factor." But these fundamentally ethnic formulations of personal and even public identification are losing purchase as ethnicity dissolves in the melting pot.

American Jews have mostly abandoned the religion of Judaism, Abrams says, whether in Orthodox or any other form. His prescription is simple: "A decision to place Judaism back in the center of Jewish life would mean that the American Jewish community must reevaluate its struggle for secularism. It would mean a rethinking of relations between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews. And it would require each Jew to rethink his own religious life and practices." But American Jews do not affirm "the 'apartness' that Judaism demands." The reason this fact provokes fear, in Abrams' words, is simple: "Whether American Jews can commit themselves anew to the goal of survival, to reversing the demographic patterns that threaten their collective future, depends on whether they

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still believe they are above all else members of a religious community. As an ethnic, cultural, or political entity they are doomed."

But religion is not a solution to the threatened problems of an ethnic group: it is a way of life, a worldview, embodied by a social entity deemed holy, concerned (in the case of Judaism) with God, God's self-manifestation in the Torah, God's love for the supernatural social entity, "Israel" (meaning the chosen and holy people, not to be confused with this-worldly entities of the same name), and God's image of Man, who is made in God's image, after God's likeness. Adopting these principles of faith not by reason of conviction but from political or social considerations simply deepens the political or social crisis, even in the short run. Has anyone before offered mass hypocrisy as a solution to a social problem? I doubt that God, for His part, will be much impressed. People practice religion because they believe that is what God wants them to do, not so that their grandchildren will do the same. They leave the rest, including their lives and their future, in God's hands. Appealing to the sacred in the name of the secular, Abrams asks for what cannot, and should not, be. Still, in a this-worldly framework, his book is objective and professional.

Responding subjectively to the personal crisis of his son's marriage to a Gentile, Dershowitz mounts a full-scale attack on the religion—Judaism—which for theological reasons condemns marriage of Jews to unconverted Gentiles. Instead he advocates not a faith but a heritage: "an eclectic, tolerant" and inclusive secular Jewishness—an ethnic identity—for American Jews. His autobiographical starting point is the intermarriage of Jews and Gentiles, which takes place in a society ever less characterized by anti-Semitism; "thus we must define our Jewish identity in different and more positive ways than we did in the past." He identifies in the Christian Right ("and their Jewish allies") a principal surviving form of anti-Semitism, sharply differing from Abrams' generally positive assessment of the Christian Right.

Dershowitz rejects the three principal modes of Jewish survival: the religious solution, meaning synagogual affiliation; the Israeli solution, meaning emigration; and, agreeing with Abrams here, the ethical solution, meaning stress on liberal politics. Instead he advocates, along with a call to action, "a new, more positive, Jewish identity based on a 3,500-year-old tradition of education, scholarship, learning, creativity, justice, and compassion. But first we must figure out a way to make this diverse library of Jewish knowledge accessible and useful to generations of Jews who are abysmally ignorant of their remarkable tradition." Jewish educators have struggled with that challenge for generations, but Dershowitz seems not to acknowledge this fact.

Dershowitz takes a militantly secular position. It is Judaism the religion that forbids what his son has done. So, to love his daughter-in-law, Dershowitz despises that religion. Rabbis, monopolizing control over Jewish education, must be deposed. Only secular Jews embody the good: "How come so many of the Jews who contributed so much to the world were not practicing or observant Jews?" Jews who practice Judaism as a religion are dismissed: "Why has the Jewish background or heritage of so many individuals who have contributed so much to the world been so important to their success, while the core of Jewish religious observance has been relatively unimportant?" He cannot mean Senator Joseph Lieberman in the United States, or the Chief Rabbi, Jonathan Sacks, in Britain: two enormously influential Jews at the highest levels of public life who practice Judaism. Exactly what Dershowitz has in mind in making these invidious comparisons—apart from a general attitude of disdain—is scarcely obvious. Dershowitz creates his world out of empty words—an uncharitable language of abuse, nothing more.

Dershowitz's own position is simple. "If eclectic Judaism is to survive and thrive, then Jews must devise eclectic rules adaptive to the changes in Judaism and to the worlds in which Jews live today. Secular Jews have the right and power to do what is necessary to preserve secular Jewish life," as does everyone else. But when it comes to making concrete explanation of what he means by "secular-Jewish," Dershowitz admits he is stymied: "The further one moves away from the strictly religious component of Judaism, the more difficult it is to define the Jewish character either of Israel or of the Jewish community." He does discover a familiar source of definition, which is education: "For Judaism to become a transmittable civilization in an integrated, secular world where Jews do not experience isolation, discrimination, and victimization, Jewish learning must become accessible to integrated and secular Jews. It must become usable to them in their daily lives." Dershowitz further advocates spirituality without religiosity: Jewish ethics, Jewish environmentalism, Jewish feminism, and the like—Judaism à la mode. "Judaism must become less tribal, less ethno-centric, less exclusive, less closed off, less defensive, less xenophobic, less clannish." "Jews must adopt a different approach to the increasing reality of intermarriage." That, indeed, is the idea prompting this unending flow of empty platitudes from the secular left.

Dershowitz wants to reinvent the Jewish wheel: "Recognize the validity of secular Judaism, which does not require belief in the supernatural, which is devoted to Jewish learning, and which regards Judaism as an evolving civilization." This is nothing more than the language of Jewish Reconstructionism. He advocates, as being of his own coinage, strings of contemporary Jewish and Judaic clichés. "We need a leadership of Jewish educators who can address the pressing issue of Jewish illiteracy and ignorance." "The Judaism I am trying to defend . . . is a Judaism of ideas, of attitudes, of skepticism, of justice, of compassion, of argumentation, and of inclusiveness." I cannot think of a single rabbi in the United States who would take issue with him, except on his violent rejection of religiosity. He ends with a call to action, something bordering on self-parody: a conference to be telecast live by satellite, open to mass participation via the Internet and e-mail—more or less the media he used when he was counseling O.J. Simpson. He concludes: "I look forward to saying 'Shalom' to you on the information superhighway!"

So far as Dershowitz claims to construct his proposal for an eclectic Judaism out of the resources of religious Judaism, which he both dismisses and hails as a principal resource, he has written a work of surpassing ignorance and utter intellectual vulgarity. In advocating learning he himself does not possess, Dershowitz simply does not know what he does not know. That is why he embarrasses himself in his pathetic pseudo-theology. The humility of Elliott Abrams contrasts powerfully with the ignorance and arrogance of this opinionated boob. c

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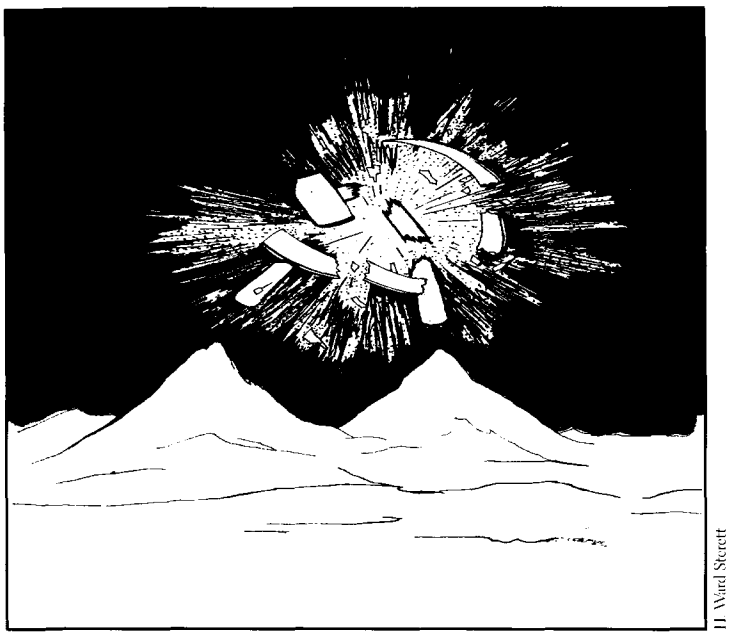
Targeted Missiles, Guided Democracy

by Paul Gottfried

"Democracy is more cruel than wars or tyrants."
—Seneca



H. Ward Sterett

George F. Kennan and the Origins of Containment, 1944-1946
by George F. Kennan and John Lukacs
Columbia: University of Missouri Press; 85 pp., $19.95

◆

The correspondence on the origins of the Cold War between John Lukacs and George Kennan, who have been friends for more than four decades, is not entirely unknown to fans of either. Much of it was printed last year in *American Heritage*, and Lukacs's stately introduction to this expanded version of the exchange reprises themes that come up in *The End of the Twentieth Century* (1993) and in his earlier works on contemporary history. As I have elsewhere commented extensively on the work of both men, it may be redundant for me to repeat tributes to these acknowledged mentors. Instead, it may be more useful to focus on what I find problematic about their vision of recent history: both men see this century's two world wars as "the two mountains" (Lukacs's words) dominating the historic topography of the modern era; and both see the Russian Revolution as an event of only secondary importance, born of World War I but greatly overestimated by conservatives and neoconservatives as the turning point of the 20th century.

These notions are troubling for two reasons. First, it is not at all clear that neoconservatives hold the Russian Revolution to be as earth-shaking as Lukacs suggests. A year's subscription to *Commentary* or a reading of the historiography of Donald Kagen and Paul Johnson should make clear that neoconservatives are far more obsessive in their dislike of the Germans than of the Soviets, and that they are nearly as hostile to the Kaiser's Reich as they are to Hitler's. The neoconservatives and some British Tories may be the last proponents of the dubious thesis of Fritz Fischer, which blames World War I on the implementation of a supposed German plan for world conquest. The point is not whether this thesis can be sufficiently documented to make it worthy of respect (from what I can determine, it cannot). More relevant is that the neoconservatives' preoccupation with the German problem would never allow most of them—Richard Pipes being a signal exception—to identify Bolshevism as the mother of all 20th-century disasters. From the neoconservative perspective, the Soviet problem was a secondary one, compared to a German menace extending from Bismarck to Hitler.

A fixation with communism, from the Soviet Revolution on, was rather characteristic of certain postwar conservatives—most particularly Frank Meyer, Robert Strausz-Hupé, Stefan Possony, and, for a while, James Burnham. Nonetheless, what critics call "apocalyptic anticommunism" has been less an *idée fixe* for the American right than antifascism has been for the American left and center-left. Despite the militantly interventionist anticommunism prevalent among those who read and wrote for *National Review*, isolationism continued to be found on the Old Right into the 1950's and 60's. Such right-wing libertarians as Frank Chodorov and Murray

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Rothbard, while impressed by the ostensible housecleaning within the federal government undertaken by postwar anticommunists, held no brief for an interventionist foreign policy. Like Robert Taft, they saw McCarthyism, rightly or wrongly, as an expression of anti-New Deal republicanism, but not as a call to engage in crusades beyond America's borders. For Chodorov and other opponents of the welfare state, the overriding concern was not communism but the United States' drift toward socialism. By contrast, American liberals were fighting international fascism even as they favored strong action against communist aggressors. For them, communism was what Harry Truman called it in the 40's: "Red Fascism," an essentially rightist enemy resembling the Nazis but pretending to be progressive. From Arthur Schlesinger's *The Vital Center*, George Orwell's novels, and the social democratic Congress for Cultural Freedom to the neoconservative reconstruction of the American anticommunist right, this depiction of communism as a fascist variant has been a key anticommunist theme. By the end of the Cold War, as Samuel Francis observes, it had trumped all other forms of anticommunism.

Second, Lukacs and Kennan may be stating what is either obvious or misleading when they present the two world wars as twin mountains in the modern historical landscape. No knowledgeable person would deny that World War I produced unfortunate consequences with whose ramifications we are still grappling: devastation, Bolshevism, Wilsonian globalism, Nazi genocide, and the Cold War. Lukacs is right to say that the guns of August did colossal harm beyond the human lives it extinguished. As scions of Central European families who lost that struggle and were subsequently persecuted by the Nazis, both he and I have every reason to deplore the explosion in 1914. Bolshevik killers were among those who benefited from that explosion, which helped topple two successive Russian regimes before Lenin took power. Both World War II and the Cold War may indeed be seen as outgrowths of what commenced in 1914.

But if Lukacs means that the Bolshevik Revolution and its effects have been vastly overrated and that anticommunists have sold us a bill of goods, then I must respectfully dissent. The Soviet seizure of power in 1917 was every bit as laden with ugly consequences as the European war from which it came. It resulted not only in a gruesome bloodbath, but ironically helped pave the way for Hitler's successes. German communists, under orders from Moscow, collaborated with the Nazis in destroying the anti-Nazi opposition; and French communists in 1940 undermined French military efforts to resist a German invasion, owing to Stalin's alliance with Hitler. In the 30's, moreover, the Nazis gained active and tacit support from those who took seriously their claim to being a bulwark against communist violence. And many of those who were repelled by the Nazis were even more appalled by the Soviet regime, which by the 1930's had already carried out their holocaust. Those who, unlike Churchill, hesitated to grasp the Soviet hand, nettles and all, against Hitler, were not being overly squeamish. Decent statesmen were disgusted by the thought of an alliance with a murderous regime and a subversive ideology for the purpose of forestalling a then less-obvious mass murderer. If the Soviet Union had not been a continental power and the leader of the antifascist Popular Front in 1934, a grave geopolitical and moral obstacle to dealing with Hitler would have been removed.

Contrary to Lukacs's suggestion, moreover, the Western powers until the late 1930's could have disposed of the Nazis without Soviet help. Before then the German Wehrmacht was no match for combined Anglo-French forces, assisted by Czechoslovakia and other French allies in Eastern and Central Europe. Even afterward there was no justification, as Kennan points out, for lying about Soviet intentions and actions—including the Katyn Woods massacre—in which both Churchill and Roosevelt engaged. The United States could have assisted the Soviets in fighting their former Nazi allies without embracing Stalin and his henchmen as trusted friends.

Finally, the Soviet lockhold on Eastern and Central Europe in 1945 and Soviet subversive activities elsewhere accelerated the transformation of the United States from a constitutional republic to a centralized administrative monolith. While this metamorphosis might have occurred in any case, the Cold War made it a certainty. Conservatives joined liberals in favoring governmental expansion, providing it could somehow be related to "national security." Under that protean term were grouped such diverse activities as road-building, the subsidization of mentally distraught graduate students (most of the hysterically pro-communist members of this category whom I taught in the late 1960's held National Defense Fellowships), the provision of "butter with guns," in LBJ's memorable phrase, and the mobilization of federal bureaucrats to fight prejudice and discrimination. The long-term beneficiaries of this welfare-warfare state have not been fascist rednecks, or other predictable targets of liberal polemics. They have been, by and large, the multinationals, the public sector, international labor unions, and professional global democrats. These victors over "Red Fascism"—not rightists or traditionalists—wrote the official evaluation of the common enemy, and shaped the battle against him.

The future first became clear to me in the 1970's, when I began noticing the growing indistinguishability between anticommunists and anti-anticommunists. Both talked about social reform and civil rights, but one side associated them with the continuing progress of American democracy while the other, by contrast, thought that our involvement in the Cold War had become an obstacle to domestic improvement. As early as the 1970's fierce anticommunism mixed with economic libertarianism or traditional Catholicism (as featured in *National Review*) was becoming a sideshow, assuming it had ever been anything more. The main architects of an anticommunist foreign policy, at least since the 60's, had been Cold War liberals, typified by Eugene and Walt Rostow, Scoop Jackson, Hubert Humphrey, and Dean Rusk; now a new ideological development occurred. Those who had been identified as "conservative" anticommunists began sound-

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ing like the liberal opposition, while at the same time appealing to Cold War imperatives. This first impressed itself upon me while listening to an address by the conservative celebrity Harry Jaffa, delivered at a conservative youth gathering. The speech, far from being greeted as poppycock, brought forth extended applause and was printed with minor variations in several conservative journals. In his remarks Jaffa explained that desegregating all public facilities in the United States was essential for defeating communism. Unless the federal government assured every black person equal access to whatever public amenity was available to whites, it could not triumph in the struggle against totalitarianism. And in a preview of what by the 1980's became a mainstream conservative view, Jaffa opined that communism was really a reactionary force related to the thinking of the Confederacy and of other antidemocratic movements. Communists were opposed to human rights and did not hold all men to be born equal.

Thus, to my surprise, there emerged a "conservative" variant of leftist anticommunism, which by the 80's incorporated the Cold War liberal brief, holding that communists were anti-Semitic, anti-gay, and anti-labor. Needless to say, there was nothing in this anticommunism that the American left would not have been able to buy, were it not for its persistent softness toward Stalinist murderers. Only this particular softness kept the official left, including the media, from embracing the anticommunist ideology that prevailed by the end of the Cold War. What the left never grasped, or wanted to, was that there was nothing in this anticommunism that conflicted with their interests. The fall of communism would bring about a leftist triumph—not the dark night of some hallucinatory McCarthyism. Indeed, the antifascism that is alive and well today in both the Old and New worlds, fueling p.c., hate speech laws, and government-mandated sensitivity training, is not a reaction to the Cold War. It is more of the usual guided democracy, including forced mobilization to fight an enemy which is always imagined to be on the right, that was already a notable aspect of American life in the Cold War period itself. c

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The *Condottiere*

by John Lukacs

André Malraux: A Biography
by Curtis Cate
New York: Fromm;
451 pp., $29.95

◆

We live in an age when biography flourishes, contrary to earlier expectations. The reason for this is the decline of the novel and the rise of popular interest in all kinds of history, and biography belongs within history. The problem is "all kinds": for appetite may be fed by a wide variety of junk food. We are now inundated with biographies and autobiographies that are illegitimate, sleazy, twisted, often obscene and fraudulent. Curtis Cate's *Malraux* is of a different order. It is an excellent work, this biography of a very interesting man.

Malraux was a writer and a 20th-century *condottiere*. That makes him interesting enough. The problem is that, unlike in the case of other writers or artists, the man is more impressive than his works. The corpus of his writings is enormous; but his many novels are, at best, ideological period pieces, and I wonder whether his grand books about art will survive beyond coffee-tables where, because of their beauty, they surely belong. Like much of French literature—and philosophy—of the last 50 years, the old French virtue of clarity is not very apparent in them, though there is a fair amount of French wit, not necessarily of the superficial sort. Malraux was an intense man, with an extraordinarily quick (and sometimes incisive) mind. Some of his aphorisms are good, but they give the impression of having been thrown off in the course of a rapid conversation—or, rather, monologue. But then Malraux was a man of action. His life is a series of struggles (and wounds): in Indochinese jungles, in prisons, in Arabia, in Spain, in World War II; struggles with critics and communists, with politicians and women, and—perhaps—with himself.

"Part Peck's Bad Boy, part Joan of Arc" someone wrote in the *New Yorker* about Malraux—that was silly. In an excellent review of Cate's book, Simon Leys in the *New York Review of Books* asks whether Malraux was a phony and answers, yes and no. I agree, though I would say no rather than yes, since a phony is necessarily an opportunist, which Malraux was not. In his introduction, Cate puts it well: "A consummate exhibitionist? No doubt." But in his letters there is "no trace of epistolary coquetry. . . . They are the letters of a tense, time-rationed intellectual, for whom action, in a noble cause, and an anguished search for human significance in a godless cosmos were far more important than fiction." The strength of Cate's book is in his consummate acquaintance with the details and the atmosphere of Parisian intellectual and social life in the 1930's, and again after 1945 when Malraux became a principal aide to General De Gaulle. (The signs are that his conversion to Gaullism was a result of Malraux's convictions, unblemished by opportunism.)

He was brave, though I would like to know more of the episode when he sprang up with a toast to Trotsky at a congress in Stalin's Moscow in 1934. The evidence for that is from his first wife's memoirs. She was a difficult woman, and not entirely reliable. Malraux's relationship with women is interesting enough to be essential (I would have liked to read more about his decision to marry his brother's widow after the war). He was very handsome, which was not only an asset when it came to women: it helped him to stand out in a crowd of unkempt and dowdy intellectuals, together with this ability to speak startlingly, rapidly, and well. He was attractive rather than admirable; impressively interesting rather than interestingly impressive; he pretended that art was the proposition of his life, whereas it was his life that was an artistic proposition. Not an easy subject for a serious biography, yet Curtis Cate has succeeded very well.

John Lukacs is the author of the forthcoming The Hitler of History *(Knopf) and* A Thread of Years *(Yale University Press).*

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Naomi's Secret

by Karina Rollins

Promiscuities: The Secret Struggle for Womanhood
by Naomi Wolf
New York: Random House;
286 pp., $24.00

◆

Naomi Wolf is nice. She is attractive, she has a daughter, she is even married. To a man. A far cry from the rabid man-haters associated with modern-day feminism. Her voice has been hailed as one of moderation; she celebrates "power feminism," professing that women are not helpless. She goes out of her way to say how much she likes men. But beneath her diplomatic veneer of likable moderation lies a worldview as radical as that of her more militant feminist colleagues.

Her last book, *Fire with Fire*, was nothing less than a battle plan for women to break down the "patriarchy," of which they are victims. In *Promiscuities: The Secret Struggle for Womanhood*, Miss Wolf trots out the female victim scenario again, supported by anecdotes of her, and her girlfriends', coming of age in the San Francisco of the 1970's. American society, Miss Wolf says, does not value and respect "female desire," thus no one teaches girls how to become women, resulting in today's mayhem of confused girls' unwanted sex, disease, and babies. Additional support comes from interspersed history and social-studies lessons, explaining how other cultures and epochs treated women and sex.

Her favorite example of female victimhood is the "shadow slut," and she introduces several from her adolescence. She recounts how a girlfriend, at 12 or 13, put on makeup and unbuttoned part of her top in the bathroom during a family dinner at a restaurant. When she returned to the table, her grandmother told her to wash off the makeup, and her little brother giggled. While the ego of a teenage girl is easily bruised, even Freud should have trouble defining this as a life-altering experience. Leave it to Miss

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Wolf to find that when it comes to anything even slightly unpleasant for any woman, a cigar is never just a cigar: "What Daria heard was: You're no woman; just the thought is ludicrous. Your nakedness is a failure." The grandmother later apologized, but Miss Wolf explains that Daria "got the message that her grandmother would not love her as much if she were sexual" and that Daria "spent her teenage years hiding her body and denying her own growing up." Miss Wolf's stories of girlhood misery appeal to emotion, not to reason. She ignores that men have teenage sob stories of their own. Would she claim that a 12-year-old boy forbidden by his parents to watch the Playboy channel—as legitimate a pubescent desire as a girl wanting to wear lipstick—will be scarred for life? Parenting has a specific purpose—children are *supposed* to be told not to do certain things, because they are too young to make judgments for themselves. Surely Miss Wolf would not get teary-eyed over a girl forbidden to go bungee-jumping with the Hell's Angels. She limits her call for *laissez-faire* parenting to girls and sex.

Miss Wolf's tone is consistently one of pity for girls (herself included), with an implication that any girlhood hardships are somehow society's fault. "If we were out of line sexually, we could become sluts; if we became sluts, we could die several deaths. . . . The impulse to equate women's being sexual with their suffering a swift, sure punishment is reflexive." Consumed with an invented notion of female punishment, she imagines it again and again. Not even a simple pick-up scene goes without a forced interpretation of oppression: "What was it the world so feared in two young women setting off alone with each other? Why was it that when Shari and I sat in a café . . . young men and old would make their way toward us belligerently . . . 'You girls want company?' They didn't just want sex. They also wanted, it seemed, to make sure we didn't get too far without them." When men make inappropriate passes at women, they are hardly busy plotting a keep-women-in-their-place conspiracy; they usually do "just want sex." Miss Wolf finds suffering where it does not exist, because suffering creates martyrdom. By turning girls who are told to wipe off their lipstick, or who are bothered by unwanted male advances, into martyrs, Miss Wolf builds her case for the need to dismantle the male-dominated society she has long seen as the enemy.

The history lesson Miss Wolf chooses about punishment is that of a first-century, 14-year-old Germanic girl, possibly killed for having an affair with a man. "Given these origins," Miss Wolf surmises, "it is no wonder that even today fourteen-year-old girls who notice, let alone act upon, their desire, have the heart-racing sense that they are doing something obscurely, but surely dangerous." If a 14-year-old girl today feels that having sex at that age is dangerous, it is not because ancient Germanic tribes were mean to women, but because her parents had the good (and increasingly rare) sense to raise her to fear the dangers of teen sex, which are far from obscure (unlike references to 2,000-year-old lynchings). Is Miss Wolf implying that society should *not* discourage 14-year-olds from having sex? "It is also in part because of this inheritance," she continues, "that a modern woman wakes up after a night of being erotically 'out of control' feeling sure, on some primal level, that something punitive is bound to happen to her—and that if it doesn't, it should." On some primal level, Miss Wolf's arguments threaten to be lost in obscurity, and if they are not, they should be.

Miss Wolf concedes that the sexual revolution, while "great fun for adults," was "played out at the expense of children," and she decries the "most harmful manifestations of the times in the shape of thirteen-year-olds wearing dominatrix costumes." Yet she quickly shows where her true sentiments lie, claiming that "many of the gifts of the time counterbalanced the corruptions." A world of neglected children and adults run amok is redeemed by "a city of murals and street theater, where creativity and play could expand the sensibility of the most jaded; and perhaps most important of all, in the form of the gay liberation movement, we saw love—human, physical, sexual, romantic love—stand as a metaphor for the highest good and animate the idealism of an entire culture." Some trade-off.

Promiscuities is all about how hard life is for women. Puberty is easier for boys, sex is easier for men. Men have sexual coming-of-age stories in literature, women do not. Life is so unfair. But it doesn't have to be. Miss Wolf's solution: "new rituals, new laws, and new lessons for our daughters through which both men and women will recognize that female desire is priceless." It is precisely "new" ways, of which Miss Wolf's feminism is a large part, that have contributed to the uncontrolled teenage sex today. Miss Wolf touts hilltop retreats with older women teaching 13-year-old girls about "sexual pleasure" and "birth control," as if parents were not already worried about their daughters learning that in school. It is up to individual parents to teach their daughters how to become women, not to some tribal assembly of wise grandmothers. More and more, parents are failing this duty. But a return to such parental responsibility (which includes saying "no" to children) would require a revival of the values and mores considered "patriarchal" by today's feminists—and which Miss Wolf is committed to destroying by creating the illusion of an undue burden for women. That is the dirty little secret in her struggle for womanhood.

Karina Rollins is the associate editor of National Review.

LIBERAL ARTS

CRIME AND ILLEGAL ALIENS

Mary Callaghan, who heads the Salt Lake County Commission, has called for tougher measures against illegal immigration, citing a close link between the influx of undocumented aliens and steadily rising crime rates in Salt Lake City. According to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, Mrs. Callaghan told the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary that 80 percent of felony drug arrests in Salt Lake City in 1996 involved illegal aliens. Illegals also committed 32 percent of all murders in the city that year. While Salt Lake County recently purchased a $300,000 fingerprint machine, it still does not have access to the INS databases that would make such equipment useful.

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A Man for His Time

by William J. Watkins, Jr.

Making Constitutional Law: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court, 1961-1991
by Mark V. Tushnet
New York: Oxford University Press; 256 pp., $29.95

◆

Charles Hamilton Houston, dean of the Howard Law School, taught his students to view law as an instrument of social engineering, and Thurgood Marshall, one of Houston's top students in the early 1930's, never forgot this basic lesson. As a leading advocate in the nation, Marshall served as a catalyst for social change as he led the NAACP Legal Defense Fund in the landmark case of *Brown* v. *Board of Education*.

Mark Tushnet charts Marshall's career post-NAACP. Though he recounts the life of Marshall the judge rather than Marshall the advocate, the reader quickly learns that the two are separated only by a black robe. Marshall never wore the so-called judicial mask, permitting him to decide a case based on law rather than personal beliefs. To the very end, Marshall remained Dean Houston's social engineer. Tushnet, who served as Marshall's law clerk, is to be commended for the honesty in his account of his former boss's time on the Supreme Court. Except for a minor lapse when discussing affirmative action, the author never pretends Marshall was anything but a social engineer who invented the necessary law when he perceived a societal problem. This short book covers much ground and unintentionally highlights what is wrong with modern American jurisprudence.

Tushnet begins his book with Marshall's appointment to Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, the most prestigious appellate court in the nation at the time. President Kennedy originally wanted to appoint Marshall to a district court, but Marshall held out for a larger feather in his cap. He could not have been more unsuited for the Second Circuit, since 90 percent of the court's business concerned corporate law—an area in which Marshall had no experience. Tushnet describes Marshall's performance as "unspectacular."

Lack of experience hindered Marshall in his next position as well. In 1965, after four years on the Court of Appeals, Thurgood Marshall was appointed Solicitor General of the United States. Tushnet recounts one case involving business law in which Marshall responded to questions from Justice Abe Fortas by reading answers that a staff attorney sitting next to him had just written out. When Fortas demanded that Marshall explain an answer, the Solicitor General replied, "I am handing them up to you just as fast as I get them." Such a stellar performance apparently convinced LBJ that Marshall was well suited for the Supreme Court. Marshall's appointment to the Court was confirmed by the Senate in August 1967.

Tushnet describes the Supreme Court in 1967 as the right place for Thurgood Marshall and at the right time—a time when the justices saw themselves as a branch of "a coordinated national government dedicated to reducing economic disparities." These liberal justices "no longer felt attracted to the general theory of judicial restraint. As they saw things, a big Court was a natural part of a big government." As for Marshall's personal philosophy of the law, it seems much akin to his storytelling. "As a storyteller," writes Tushnet, "Marshall was not above modifying his account of real events a bit to give his stories a better punch line." So too with the Constitution. Marshall fervently believed that a judge who identified a pressing social problem could invent the necessary constitutional law to go along.

Such a philosophy is evident in Marshall's dissenting opinion in *Dandridge* v. *Williams*, where he argued that Maryland denied a welfare recipient the equal protection of the laws by imposing an upper limit on welfare payments, thus allowing the recipient $250 when he "needed" $296. The majority refused to second-guess state officials charged with allocating limited funds, and Marshall criticized "the Court's emasculation of the Equal Protection Clause as a constitutional principle." During his years on the High Court, Marshall adroitly used a sliding scale of equal protection analysis to uphold laws he fancied by applying to them a low level of scrutiny, and in turn striking down laws he objected to by using a higher standard. By his reliance on the sliding scale, he found it easier to discuss public policy in the manner of a super-legislator rather than that of a judge interpreting the law. Unfortunately, Marshall's equal protection methodology is alive and well in the Supreme Court today.

After examining Marshall's equal protection theory, Tushnet inadvertently exposes the Justice's hypocrisy regarding affirmative action, saying Marshall "simply asked the court to respect legislative choices." Marshall, so he claims, only looked to see if the corporate body was within its powers when it enacted the program. In this way Marshall comes across as some sort of states' rights champion who cried foul when an overreaching majority of the Court struck down affirmative action programs. What both Marshall and Tushnet seem to have missed is that with *Brown*, which Marshall argued in front of the Court, the days of judges deferring to legislative choices and ignoring their own views came to a close. Constitutional law had been moving steadily in that direction, and Thurgood Marshall—with the help of Earl Warren—formally ushered in a new era of activism and consolidation. Fittingly, some affirmative action programs later died by the judicial sword Thurgood Marshall was so instrumental in fashioning.

William J. Watkins, Jr., is a student at the University of South Carolina School of Law.

LIBERAL ARTS

IMMIGRANTS ON THE DOLE

According to data cited in the *FAIR Immigration Report*, 25 percent of immigrants who receive monthly Supplemental Security Income (SSI) payments belong to families whose incomes exceed $64,000 a year. Taking advantage of a loophole in SSI regulations, wealthy immigrants bring their elderly parents or grandparents to states like California and then sign them up for SSI, which benefits those who cannot qualify for Social Security. The Public Policy Institute of California, which published the data, also found that "immigrants getting welfare had higher incomes than American natives and others receiving assistance."

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Letter From Alabama

by Michael Hill

This Dog Won't Hunt

◆

Judge Roy Moore of Etowah County, Alabama, was sued by the ACLU and something called the Alabama Freethought Association (Unitarian-Universalists, I believe they are) back in 1995 for displaying the Ten Commandments on his courtroom wall and for beginning each session with a prayer by a Christian clergyman. Over the past year, the affair has taken several legal twists and turns and has now become something of a *cause célèbre* among the common folk of Alabama. Earlier this year, a Montgomery County judge ruled that Moore must take down the offending Mosaic code and put an end to the prayers; however, the Alabama Supreme Court has since issued Judge Moore a stay. This means that the next time the case reaches a courtroom it will probably be argued before a *federal* instead of a state judge, and whereas the state courts have thus far been favorably inclined toward Judge Moore, the federal courts are likely to rule against him. This could lead to a showdown between Governor Fob James, who has promised to call out the National Guard and state troopers to protect Moore, and the federal courts.

When Governor James in 1995 first mentioned using the Alabama Guard on Judge Moore's behalf, the media paid little attention. However, since then public support for the governor and the judge has been growing. Both men have criss-crossed the state, speaking at large and enthusiastic public rallies, and in the spring public officials at the governor's mansion in Montgomery said they were receiving some 17,000 pieces of mail a day in support of James and Moore. Suddenly, the media—both statewide and national—began to take seriously the governor's flirtation with nullification and interposition.

But just how serious is Forrest Hood (Fob) James about all this? In a recent interview, he reiterated his stand on calling out the Guard and the troopers, but when asked what he would do in case the President federalized the Guard, James answered: "Then that would be it." What "it" is he did not say, but most folks are betting that he will simply go back to Montgomery and tell his supporters that he did his best. Not that the Governor would be lacking support if he were really determined to oppose an intrusive federal government; his office reports that more than a few well-armed, patriotic Alabamians (and other Southerners) have offered to back him all the way. And then there is the tantalizing question of the first loyalty of the Alabama National Guard.

While all this is the stuff of political drama, I doubt a meaningful constitutional showdown will ever come to pass. For his part, Judge Roy Moore, whom I've interviewed at length, is determined to see this stand through as a matter of deeply-held principle. But Governor James has some room to wiggle out of the coals if they get too hot. What is worse, the affair began to take on a comic note with the arrival of Ralph Reed's Christian Coalition and the usual neoconservative camp followers, ever eager to jump on the religion bandwagon.

On April 12, Reed joined Governor James, Judge Moore, and several other neoconservative speakers at a "Save the Ten Commandments Rally" on the steps of the Alabama State Capitol in Montgomery. Organizers confidently predicted a turnout of 50,000 to 75,000; in fact, estimates of the crowd size ranged between 6,000 and 25,000. The rally's lower than expected attendance may reflect dissatisfaction with the organizers' decision to ban certain cosponsors of the event out of fear of bad publicity. For example, the Southern League, after having been accepted as a cosponsor, received word at the last minute that it could not participate because of its "secessionist" leanings (which would, according to rally officials, "embarrass the Governor and the Judge").

While nearly every speaker blasted away at federal judges for making rather than interpreting law, there was more heat than light. What seemed lost on both speakers and rally-goers was that the issue surrounding Judge Moore and Governor James is states' rights. Instead of complaining about judicial tyranny while hoping that a "conservative" Supreme Court will some day right the jurisprudential wrongs of the last several decades, the participants at the rally would have been better off looking for local solutions to the problems inflicted by a central government that now defines the limits of its own authority. Governor James's threat to call out the Guard sounds the theme of states' rights, but James is alone, and his words may prove to be more bluster than principle.

The Confederate battle flag stood out as one of the few heartening signs at the rally; at least a few of the attendees realized the centrality of states' rights to the whole affair. However, it was strange and disconcerting to see that banner waving amid paeans to Abe Lincoln and Martin Luther King, Jr., both of whom did their best to destroy limited government and state autonomy. This neoconservative love-fest, which occurred in the first capital of the Confederacy, was an insult to the memory of Jeff Davis, whose statue looked sadly down on hundreds of people who neither knew nor cared about the cause for which he and his contemporaries suffered.

If Christian Southern conservatives follow the lead of Ralph Reed, then the courage displayed by Judge Moore and Governor James will have been in vain. Any serious consideration of states' rights still scares the pants off the leaders of the Christian Coalition. A good backbone transplant would seem to be in order for those who organized the rally. By their cowardice they are reducing Christ's admonition to be faithful unto death to something more like faithfulness that stops short of inconvenience. Anyone who expected this affair to spark a constitutional crisis would be better off looking elsewhere for excitement. This dog won't hunt.

Michael Hill is a historian and president of the League of the South, formerly known as the Southern League.

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POLITICS

One Nation Indivisible

by

Donald Livingston and Thomas H. Naylor

I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

There is irony in the fact that although prayer has been banned in our public schools, millions of American schoolkids are required to recite the pledge to the flag each day whether they believe it or understand its implications. Our quibble with the pledge is not with its use or misuse of God, but rather with the phrase "one nation indivisible."

What are the historical origins of this patriotic creed with the mistaken notion that the United States is indivisible? Is it based on either the Constitution or the Declaration of Independence? Is it attributable to either George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, or James Madison? The answer is—none of the above.

Few Americans realize that the pledge, popularized by the American Legion and other patriotic organizations, is the work of two little-known Boston writers who published it in 1892. Congress codified it in 1942 during World War II and added "under God" in 1954. Pictures of Washington's army displaying the Stars and Stripes are fantasies. The flag was not used then. Troops advanced under their state and local flags, and the flag did not become part of U.S. Army regulations until the 1830's. It was perceived during the antebellum period as the flag of a federation, not the flag of a unitary nation state, just like the European Union flag.

When children in communist Russia used to recite mindless Marxist-Leninist creeds, we called it brainwashing. When American kids say the Pledge of Allegiance, it is patriotism.

From the outset Americans have disagreed over two contrary theories of what it was our Founders founded—the compact theory and the nationalist theory. The *compact* theory first put forth by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison holds that the Constitution is a compact of sovereign states which have delegated enumerated powers to a central government as their agent. This theory was dominant throughout the antebellum period. Indeed, no nationalist theory appeared until the 1830's. As a result of widespread adherence to the compact theory, secession was viewed as a lawful form of resistance available to any American state. The region that most often considered secession was New England. Many Abolitionists urged secession of the Northern states.

As Thomas Jefferson said in the Declaration of Independence, "Whenever any form of government becomes destructive, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government." Just as a group has a right to form, so too does it have a right to disband, to subdivide itself, or secede from a larger unit.

In sharp contrast to the compact theory is the *nationalist* theory championed by Abraham Lincoln which holds that the states were *never* sovereign. After splitting with England, the people of the various colonies were spontaneously transformed into the American polity. This body was sovereign and created a central government called the Continental Congress that authorized the formation of the states. The contract, once made, between the people and the government was irrevocable: a political marriage from which there was no divorce.

Early in his career Lincoln supported the right to secede: "Any people anywhere being inclined and having the power have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one which suits them better." Later he had a change of heart. To justify his invasion of the South and his scorched earth policy toward 11 dissident states, he made preservation of the Union the moral imperative of the United States: "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it, and if I could save the Union by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps save the Union." Lincoln claimed that he had taken an oath to preserve the Union. But he had taken no such oath; rather he had sworn to preserve the Constitution, and the Constitution did not in 1861, and does not now, prohibit the secession of an American state. When it became politically expedient to do so, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. He also enshrined in the minds of all Americans the notion that what it means to be a good American is to ensure the survival of the Union at all cost—one nation indivisible.

Lincoln lived in an age of unabashed empire building and of coercion of independent political societies into consolidated unions. What Bismarck was accomplishing in Germany with his policy of "blood and iron," what Garibaldi was trying to achieve in Italy, and what Lenin would later accomplish in Russia, Lincoln achieved in America through the bloodiest war of the 19th century. Lincoln did not preserve an indivisible union from destruction because he did not inherit one; rather, like Bismarck and Lenin, he created one.

Thanks to Lincoln, World War I, the Great Depression, World War II, and the Cold War, most Americans—whether they be Democrats, Republicans, or Independents—are firmly ensconced in the nationalist political camp. While many conservatives give lip service to Jefferson and the decentralist model of government, most behave as world-class centralists. Liberals have never tried to hide their affection for the nationalist approach.

In his first Inaugural Address Ronald Reagan flatly rejected the nationalist

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theory: "The federal government did not create the states; the states created the federal government." But, while pretending to be a decentralist, Reagan may have contributed more to the massive concentration of power in Washington than any other President with his multitrillion-dollar peacetime military build- up.

When there is increasing agreement among liberals and conservatives alike that the federal government has become too big, too powerful, too intrusive, too bureaucratic, and too unresponsive to the needs of local communities everywhere, does it make sense to continue indoctrinating our youth with the misleading view that the United States is indivisible? It is not; it never has been; and we cannot think of any good reason why it ever should be.

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EDUCATION

Dumb and Number

by Marian Kester Coombs

Girls mature physically and socially earlier than boys, God's way of bettering the survival odds for female children. This accelerated maturation coupled with the intrinsically feminine culture of public education, where the ideal student is a little woman, accounts for the scholastic dominance of girls in the early grades.

But as puberty strikes the old order abruptly changes. Boys forge ahead physically and intellectually, while girls sometimes feel as though their very selves are dissolving. Many crash into a miserable pit of self-doubt, a slavish boy-craziness, a semihysteria not exactly conducive to academic achievement. Also, at least until the recent past, the middle and high school curriculum begins to involve some serious math and science. Having stoically endured years of a demasculinizing system, boys start to come into their own at last.

But not if Big Sister can help it. That pubescent female "crash" has become a call to arms for feminists and their agents throughout the educational bureaucracy. Such books as Mary Pipher's *Reviving Ophelia*, Colette Dowling's *The Cinderella Complex*, and Karen Blaker's *Born to Please*, and such powerful policymakers as Donna Shalala and Ruth Bader Ginsburg argue that this slough of female despond is a crisis calling for full-scale revision of all our institutions, assumptions, values, customs, norms, and methods, not least of which are our methods of teaching mathematics, which feminists correctly perceive as a fortress of male excellence. Whenever you hear loud demands for "inclusion" in "unfairly exclusive" fields, you know you are in the presence of those who have been utterly inessential to the establishment or painstaking construction of those fields.

But deconstruction of them—now that's another matter! Having tried for years with little success to boost girls' achievement and interest in math, the educrats have finally concluded that the best way to close the gap is to cripple boys, by making girls' "learning style" mandatory for all. Mathematics, so chivalrously called the queen of the sciences, is being neutered into "math appreciation."

A major explicit goal of the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) is elimination of the "gender and non-Asian minority gaps" that widen as the math curriculum advances. Recent assessments, such as a 1996 study of fourth-, eighth-, and twelfth-graders in California, show that while overall performance is at a standstill or sliding backward, boys and girls have begun to do equally badly in math. The NCTM's 258-page "Curriculum and Evaluation Standards for School Mathematics," which has been undergoing implementation since its publication in 1989, makes the tactics of this crippling strategy clear.

Verbalization and visualization of problem solving. Real mathematical thinking may be preverbal or postverbal or subverbal or supraverbal, but in any case it is definitely not "word processing." Teachers now require pupils to write out in words how they get their answers. The parents' group Honest Open Logical Debate (HOLD) reports that "teachers in middle and high school are actively discouraging the use of mathematical symbolism and penalizing students who write correct but short mathematical arguments using such notation." This is equivalent to penalizing those with any genuine mathematical gift, while rewarding those without, especially girls, who studies have shown process math better verbally than abstractly, i.e., directly. Similarly, using pictures instead of numbers also sidesteps the basic abstraction of mathematics.

A parent named Charles L. Beavers (on the Internet at http://www.intres.com/math/) recently confronted an educrat named Ruth Parker who came before her school district with a "New New Math" trick called the "Turkey Problem." Briefly, the problem could be, and in the past would have been, solved by establishing that a ratio between the known amount and fraction equals the ratio between the unknown amount (x) and fraction and then solving for x. This method, Beavers pointed out, always works, no matter what the amounts and fractions involved. Parker's solution, which diagrammed the problem as nine little circles which the student then divides up physically into a jumble of half-circles and quarter-circles ultimately adding up to x, "works, graphically, for one carefully chosen problem" only. Parker refused to discuss Beavers' observation, suggesting he get input from schoolchildren if he were "curious."

"The problem with the ratio method, and standard methods in general, is not that they don't work," comments Beavers. "Indeed, they have immense mathematical power. The problem is that too few people, including many elementary teachers who explain them to our children, understand the simple mathematical manipulations behind the methods." He is too kind. If fools have been sent to teach math to our children, they have been sent knowingly and with malice.

Traditionalist Marianne M. Jennings laments in her critique of the new algebra curriculum (*Wall Street Journal*, December 17, 1996) that current textbooks "have all but eliminated numbers. . . . By taking the math out of math, educators have stripped the discipline of its beauty." While it may be true that most of us "innumerate" masses will never revel in the sheer joy of number theory or bask in the reflected glory of Fermat's elusive Final Theorem, that beauty is the heart of the mathematical enterprise. Never to glimpse it is to live in a kind of twilight; to be taught not to look for it is a crime

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against human nature.

Use of manipulatives. These are basically toys of various kinds—counters, cubes, sticks, marbles, grids, and so on. Even the NCTM admits in its Standards that manipulation of manipulatives is incapable of proving any mathematical proposition, yet it advocates such a hands-on approach well into the fifth grade.

This approach is closely related to verbalization/visualization in that it is innumerate, antitheoretical, anticonceptual, and antiabstract. Remember the multiplication principle, or basic set theory? To determine the total possible number of sets of certain variables, one multiplied the quantity of the first group of variables and the quantity of each other group. But not any more. Now students are instructed to make an "organized list." This means writing down, line after line, all the possible combinations of variables, after which you add them all up. This chore may then be followed by the manipulative exercise of coloring and cutting and pasting little paper representations of your sets, which are not of course called "sets." Math is now a lot of dull busywork.

William G. Quirk, a Connecticut software consultant and former university math teacher, has battled the math establishment for years on these issues. He has posted what he calls "The Truth About the NCTM Standards" on the Internet (http://www.webcom.com/~wgquirk/welcome.html) and has this to say about manipulatives: "Prolonged reliance on concrete 'pacifiers' interferes with the most important social reason for studying math, the development of the average citizen's ability to think abstractly." It does indeed. Are we beginning to get the idea that the average citizen's ability to think abstractly is not something ardently desired by those in positions of authority?

Repetition. The same ground is covered in grade after grade, especially in elementary school. The "organized list" business, for instance, has been handed my children in both second and fourth grade, without any conceptual difference between the presentations. My fourth-grader, by no means a math whiz (possibly thanks to the new mathless math), was instantly able, however, to grasp real set theory, remember it, and apply it; so the rationale that "kids aren't ready for it" is not supportable.

Guess and check. Otherwise known as trial and error, this "strategy" says brightly (actual example): "Sometimes you can solve a problem by identifying two conditions. You can guess at an answer that satisfies Condition 1. Then you can check to see whether your guess also satisfies Condition 2." Sometimes students can stumble upon the solution, too, if they recognize it as such. How many diagonals can be drawn inside a four-sided figure? Guess. Four? Okay, draw them. No, only two. What about a pentagon? Five? Three? Yes, five. A hexagon? Six! No, nine. And so on. Guess, then draw the tiny lines. The teacher told my fourth-grader, "There's a formula for this, but I don't remember what it is, and you don't need to know it."

"Everyday problems" or "real-world" math. The New New Math argues that math instruction must be related to everyday life and practical solutions. They call this a switch from "skills orientation" to "meaning orientation." Arithmetic does of course help children tell time, make change, count their Halloween candy, and so forth. But as William Quirk points out, "Most math has no 'everyday' application." Mathematics is an abstraction that exists solely as a result of human mentation. "Who will build those bridges in the 21st century?" asks Quirk. "Right now, it looks like the Asians."

Teamwork vs. individual effort. Used sparingly, the team approach can be an exhilarating change of pace within the school day as well as a valid means of arriving at new knowledge. In the context of the New New Math, though, it is just another means of devaluing the concept of a teacher teaching objective facts and skills to students who need to pay attention and learn, memorize and practice them in order to get—yes!—the correct answer. The theory behind having teams of ignorant students wrack their empty little brains to arrive at estimated approximate solutions is called "constructivism" or "discovery" learning. Needless to say, since the teacher is no longer conveying a body of knowledge but presiding over a vague "discovery process," the testing of these "discoveries" is necessarily problematic and to be avoided.

Perhaps the most disturbing statement in the NCTM's entire document is this: "Students might like mathematics but not display the kinds of attitudes and thoughts identified by this standard. For example, students might like mathematics yet believe that problem solving is always finding one correct answer using the right way. . . . Although such students have a positive attitude toward mathematics, they are not exhibiting the essential aspects of what we have termed mathematical disposition."

Most students who "like mathematics" do so precisely because it offers a "right way" to arrive elegantly at the "correct answer." The NCTM seems to be implying that such students are in need of "disposition" modification. And it seems to be imposing just that upon our hapless young.

Forget memorization. The NCTM Standards call for a curriculum focused "on the development of understanding, not on the rote memorization of formulas." Here is proof positive these folk do not know what thinking is. The content of human memory is what "thought" operates upon: no content, no operation. It's like trying to open a computer file without an application program. Without stored knowledge of facts, sense cannot be made of past or current experience: there is literally nothing for "understanding" to build with. To downplay memory is to disable the brain itself. According to Jack Youngblood, a teacher who advocates the Kumon method to undo the damage of public school math, "You can't teach 'concepts' without teaching *math.*"

Use of calculators. Astonishingly, the NCTM Standards declare, "There is no evidence to suggest that the availability of calculators makes students dependent on them for simple calculations." Do math educators never witness the agonies of young cashiers when the register goes down? The Council promotes calculators in the classroom and proclaims they have transformed the way math is understood; they have freed humanity from the need to compute; we can now forget about number facts and concentrate on "meaning." Meanwhile, even with calculators, American students trail the industrialized world in math, and they not only can't do sums but don't know what they "mean," either.

G.D. Chakerian and Kurt Kreith have compared the "constructivist," "meaning-oriented," "discovery" approach to the Pythagorean theorem with the traditional, "skills-oriented" approach and have sorrowfully observed: "Experiments performed under the tutelage of unskilled guides can lead students into a chaotic jungle, one in which their minds

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become entangled in an underbrush of mismatched concepts to which they, their parents, and their future teachers will be hard pressed to bring order."

The minds damaged most by being dragged into this "underbrush of mismatched concepts" are those of boys. What is happening today in American education is truly a bias crime if ever there was one, perpetrated with mindless ingratitude. Who, after all, has generously granted inexperienced women entry to the professions they founded? Who have been the caring, demanding mentors to tens and hundreds of thousands of women over the centuries? Fathers in particular are so notorious in this booster role that literature and literary history are replete with them; behind virtually every high-achieving woman is a doting dad.

Who, conversely, are those brassy young singles out trolling for your husband in the workplace, with no regard for your happiness or your children's welfare? ("Feminists think men are jerks," someone noted, "and they all want one.") Whose heavy favoritism toward their sons drives their daughters to speechless rage and lifelong depression, and whose negative criticism drives their daughters to anorexia and bulimia, according the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*? Who are all those teachers supposedly turning a deaf ear to girls' contributions in class? Who is most threatened by the dynamic new woman in the office or graduate department and wills her to fail? And who are all those math idiots who voted Bill Clinton into the White House?

It is less the hostility of men than women's own marked preference for males over females that blights their own lives and the lives of girls. Mothers prefer sons, daughters prefer fathers, and, as Gregory Corso observed in his poem "Friend," "The majority of friends are male / Girls always prefer male friends." As for the cause of the aforementioned pubescent "crash," in which "Ophelia" goes mad and drowns her Self, in the absence of common sense one might turn to Tolstoy, who described the phenomenon so beautifully in *War and Peace*: it is the green sickness that gets Natasha in its vise and makes her hysterical and almost ruins her, all because Prince Andrei does not marry her in time.

Tragically, teenage girls today may not marry even if they suffer the green sickness unto death; they are considered too young by modern social standards for that most simple and humane of cures. And so they will continue to drown. But now, at least, they can take everyone else down with them, because surveys for the first time show that more young men than any other demographic sector report themselves "depressed."

Marian Kester Coombs writes from Crofton, Maryland.

The Liechtenstein Academy

by Peter Laurie

"Courage," said the Philosopher, "is the prime philosophical virtue" (by which he meant the moral kind) "lacking which all the others become irrelevancies one has no nerve to bring oneself to put into practice." It is a notion from another time, in accord with which it came to pass that the philosophical cream of my own generation, guided by enlightened self-interest, determined to bring no children into this world. The trouble one saved oneself. The trouble one saved *them*.

Trouble, of course, there has been. Though after each of our century's dallies with mass death—reserving those ongoing—sobriety *has* tended to shame frivolity awhile. Sometimes, it has even seemed as if we *were* about to embrace that modicum of what the wise once called wisdom, if only to preclude the interlocking disasters of a self-administered extinction or the literal conflagration of the world.

Always, the impulse fades. It fades because the absence of evil does not necessarily mean the presence of good. It fades because we cannot see things as they are, which is a necessary component to doing anything at all.

Perhaps now mere pragmatisms, euphemizing the world into market conditions, whereas one might even with the naked eye make out a transoceanic oil spill, the industrial occultation of rain forests, may well succeed where past mass death has failed. Our cycles of certitude spew their virtual volcanoes of information, less and less about more and more, more and more about less and less, on toward everything you ever wanted to

TELOS

A Quarterly Journal of Critical Thought

Does it still make sense to talk about Left and Right? What remains of the communist project after the collapse of the Soviet Empire? Has collectivism become official liberal ideology? What is the impact of feminism, anti-racism and multiculturalism on American traditions? What has happened to the American Right after its anti-communist ideology became obsolete? Are paleo-conservatives and neo-conservatives on the same political side? What does it mean to be a conservative today? What remains of American particularism in the age of globalization? Is the crisis of conservatism but another version of the crisis of liberalism?

These questions are debated in the pages of *Telos* by independent scholars unafraid to challenge various ideological establishments. Recent issues have re-examined the meaning of American federalism, the populist legacy, the resurgence of nationalism, separatism, etc. Future issues will deal with the crisis of European Unification, the collapse of American education, the disintegration of "humanism" and the possibility of religious alternatives.

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know about nothing but were afraid to ask. One comes actually to *prefer* one's universe devoid of the hoax of quality. (It may not occur to us that another well-known name for such a place is Hell.)

Unless one were a poet, say, or a philosopher. They, in their primordial purity of function and meaning, are as rare as stars in the daytime, though they may occur. Such a one might have been fated to be born in the midst of an Old World's highest of high hills, where Mozart also had been born, at one of that world's least propitious modern moments, a little after the Siegfried Line was breached.

Inspired by the example of Dietrich von Hildebrand and of Karol Wojtyla, otherwise known as Pope John Paul II, an admirably unselfregarding personage named Josef Seifert came to found the International Academy for Philosophy in the Principality of Liechtenstein. The term itself would appear provocative, recalling as it does those other two academies—Plato's, Cosimo's—of happy memory without which the world could never have hoped to have come into being at all.

This may well have been a nervy thing to try. Though as with that of Athens or of Florence, a family and a fortune stand behind it, Liechtenstein's princely house is not so well known—yet—as that of Solon or the Medicis. The old prince now deceased displayed a crucial presence of mind, though, in a maddened world, sparing his principality participation in the Third Reich. In contrast to those other world metropolises, most people have barely heard of Liechtenstein, whose obscurity behind mountains at the heart of a Europe currently obsessed with its own materialist/hedonist abandon may prove an asset whose value has yet to mature. It is the academy's premise that considerably less is right with the emerging human picture than most are willing to consider. The academy exists not to "study" philosophy (one may do that there, of course) but to resurrect it. At which point one may well ask whether such a thing were even possible; if possible, advisable; if advisable, desirable. That would be to begin, as Plato himself said all philosophy must, in wonder.

Seifert's first words to me were about my own New World (Dallas, as it happened, where I have never been). He was being introduced to a local political figure who asked him, in that singular way of our countrymen, not "What do you *do*?" but "What do *you* do?" and to which he replied, not "I write books" nor "I teach at the university," though he did both, but—"I am a philosopher." That *was* what he knew himself to be.

"A . . . ? A . . . ? What?" (It is hard to know whether the public figure's response was a ploy.) "A phuh . . . *la* . . . suh . . . phuh . . .? Hey! Do you realize what that means? That means . . . that the lowliest truckdriver in this town . . . is of more real use in life than you!"

The man from the Alps where liberty is as air was not as abashed by the turn of conversation as he was meant to be. The prime philosophical virtue can be a fine thing on occasion. He respectfully asked if Tex had heard of Aristotle, the source of the opinion as to the prime philosophical virtue. It may have been vanity, but the query acquired a positive response. "Then you may know of his remark that what is of no 'use' may—on that very account—be what is most to be *valued*." We are not yet a race of philosopher kings, and this notion had not occurred to Tex. It did serve, though, to put a period to the social interval.

But can there be "value" in pursuing what *is* of no "use"? The academy has been founded upon an apt set of observations, as startling as indefeasible, as disturbing as ignored: one, that our time has spawned a greater number of political murders than all other times put together; two, that these deaths are a consequence not of reversion to savagery, itself a real enough result, but of philosophy. The academy stipulates that the philosophies in question are, to be sure, demonstrably bad ones, ideologies passed off as philosophies, stratagems for psychological manipulation, even systematic *anti*-philosophies: that modernity is largely antipathetic to the traditional claims of philosophy as well as a consequence of its very attitude, that influential philosophers of the last three centuries have expended inordinate energies discrediting themselves. Whence the scorn of our no-nonsense Texan. He probably does know where the oil well is, after all.

But would he recognize his cousins-in-contempt? The ones who said, "God is dead, Nothing is true, Anything goes"? The ones who scoffed, "Philosophers have explained the world—it is necessary to *change* it!"? The ones who sneered, "Our enemies will never be in a position to tell us we lied"? The ones who hoked up the portrait of Albert Einstein for the cover of *Time* with the rubric, "It's all relative," as if the physicist himself had never said—as he had, repeatedly—that none of his theories had philosophical relevance at all? Or that school of linguistics that thought it had debunked the scandal of words actually meaning anything?

So we—who comprise in our own estimation the most sophisticatedly disillusioned human race since the opening words of Ecclesiastes—let swarms of meaningless words and hoked up images assail us every day. The phonier they come off, the truer we are apt to take them to be.

One evidently well-known thinker of our time I had the luck not to have heard of made front page news a few years back by declaring that history had come to an end. I happened to have been in Anatolia at the time, where the father of history and the first Ionian philosopher were born. This news flash led me to think that we have grown so used to the savor of sophistry we are likely to gag on any taste of truth, a predicament one sour Greek had commented upon even in *his* day: "Nothing 'is.' If it 'were,' it would be indefinable; if definable, incommunicable; if communicable, still unintelligible."

This sounds to me now like only a fair appraisal of the task the academy has set itself. It will involve the healing of atrophied perception, the revival of the love of wisdom in its ancient and eternal sense, the restoration of the primacy of quality over quantity, mind over matter. For this to happen, we will have to allow some meaning to the evidence of things not seen and stop pretending that our own is the only form of mind.

Peter Laurie is a writer living in upstate New York.

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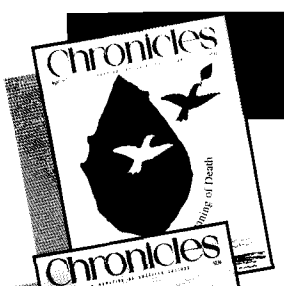
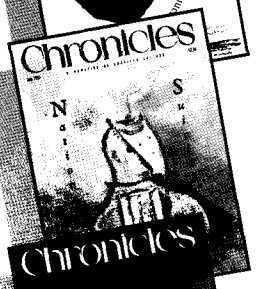
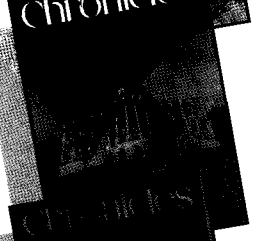
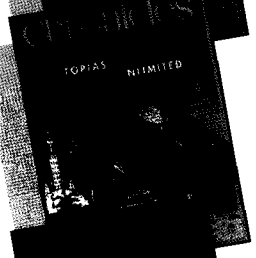
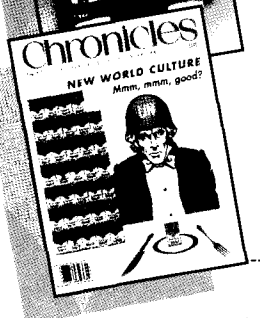










THE MEANING OF DEATH—August 1997—Bill Kauffman on the costs of war, Michael Hill on things worth dying for, Allan Carlson on the new euthanasia pill, and Barry Baldwin on the case for capital punishment. Plus Frank Brownlow's review of *Alias Shakespeare* by Joseph Sobran and Justin Raimondo's report on George Soros.

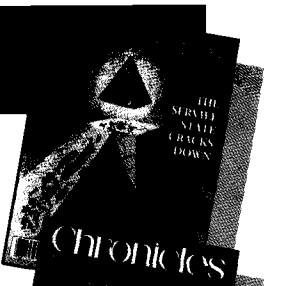
NATIONAL SUICIDE—July 1997—Thomas Fleming on learning a lesson from the Czechs, Curtis Cate on the French debate over immigration, R.J. Stove on Pauline Hanson's influence in Australia, Justin Raimondo on the future of the Pacific Northwest, William Murchison on why Mexico lost Texas, and Gregory McNamee on the state of Native Americans.

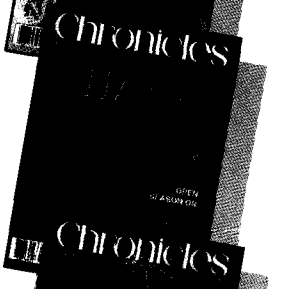
MANIFEST DISASTER—June 1997—Thomas Fleming on the new imperialism, Samuel Francis on globalism and its consequences, Joseph Sobran on the case for anti-Americanism, Srdja Trifkovic on America's role in the Balkans, and James George Jatras on benevolent global hegemony. Plus Rajko Dolecek's Letter from Pale and Justin Raimondo on David Horowitz and the ex-communist confessional.

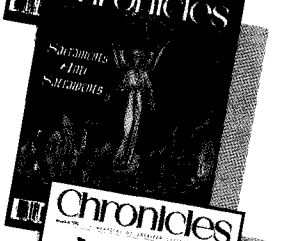
UTOPIAS UNLIMITED—May 1997—Thomas Fleming on the world of W.S. Gilbert, Thomas Bertonneau on the death of science fiction, Jesse Walker on the cult of Philip K. Dick, and Scott P. Richert on the *X-Files*. Plus Samuel Francis reviews the latest biography of H.P. Lovecraft, and August Derleth's last editor recalls the founding of Arkham House.

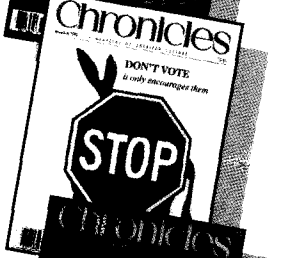
SQUEEZE PLAY: THE CONSERVATIVE MIDDLE—April 1997—Samuel Francis on the GOP flop, Mark Royden Winchell on paleoconservatism, George Watson on the strange friendship between conservatives and the free market, Martin Mawyer on the future of the Christian right, and Paul Gottfried on Martin Luther King as conservative hero.

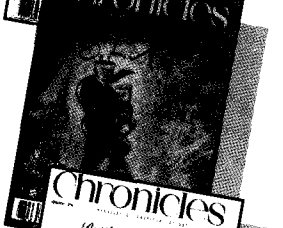
NEW WORLD CULTURE: Mmm, mmm, good?—March 1997—Bill Kauffman on life on Planet Hollywood, David Hackett Fischer on multiculturalism's assault on scholarship, Jesse Walker on Ray Davies and the Kinks as proud localists, and Michael Hill on the New Reconstruction of the South. Plus former ambassador Frank Ruddy on "*Au Revoir*, Boutros."











THE SERVILE STATE CRACKS DOWN—February 1997—Thomas Fleming on why everybody gonna pay tax today, Samuel Francis on the new federal police state, Sarah J. McCarthy on why Uncle Sam is not trusted, and U.S. Congressman Don Manzullo on judicial taxation without representation.

HATE: OPEN SEASON ON HUNS, POLACKS, REDNECKS, WOPS, RUSSKIES, HUNKIES—January 1997—Paul Gottfried on Polonophobia, Ralph Raico on Nazifying the Germans, Michael Hill on the tar and feathering of the South, and Wayne Allensworth on the Russian Demon. Plus Margie Burns on "Southern White Trash" as a genre of film.

SACRAMENTS, ANTI-SACRAMENTS—December 1996—Thomas Fleming on Uncle Sam as the Anti-Christ, Father Ian Boyd on the sacraments as perceived by G.K. Chesterton and Muriel Spark, Harold O.J. Brown on the sacraments of death, and Philip Jenkins on teaching religion vs. religious teaching.

DON'T VOTE, IT ONLY ENCOURAGES THEM—November 1996—Robert Weissberg on elections as a means of state control, James J. Condit, Jr., on vote fraud, Clyde Wilson on the two-party stranglehold, and Greg Kaza on "none of the above." Plus Senator Eugene McCarthy on immigration.

SEX, SIN, AND SCIENCE—October 1996—Philip Jenkins on the "one in ten" myth about homosexuals, Janet Scott Barlow on the pseudoscience of therapy, Thomas Szasz on the bogus justifications for circumcision, and Tomislav Sunic on drugs and democracy.

BATTLES OF THE BOOKS: MULTICULTURALISM AND EDUCATION—September 1996—Thomas Fleming on the latest assault on the classics, Zbigniew Herbert on the significance of T.S. Eliot, George Garrett on the legacy of Shakespeare, and Harold O.J. Brown on the Bible past and present. Plus essays on abolishing compulsory school attendance laws and on the dirty facts about college admissions.

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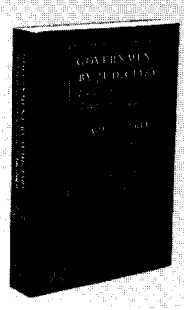

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